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Reportage on 3-Day CSCE Meeting in Prague

Peacekeeping Force Discussed

AU2510122491 Prague CSTK in English 1623 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 23 (CSTK)—Polish representatives at the meeting here of senior officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) today called for the creation of a CSCE peace keeping force, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Ivan Busniak, told CSTK.

"Today was the beginning of serious dialogue on the creation of a peace keeping force in which all 38 countries involved in the Helsinki process would participate," he said.

Unnamed sources close to the CSCE Secretariat said Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Canada are prepared to move quickly to form a fairly extensive peace keeping force. Great Britain, however, is said to be strongly opposed to the idea. Most of the other CSCE member countries in principle approve of the creation of such a force but see no reason for haste.

The Senior Officials' Committee will conclude its three-day meeting on Thursday.

Poland proposed today at the meeting of senior officials the proposal was submitted to the meeting of senior officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in Prague the creating of a 30,000-man CSCE peace keeping force. [sentence as received]

Its task would be to disengage belligerent troops and monitor cease fire observance.

Deployment of the force would be decided by the CSCE Council of Ministers or possibly by a new body—the CSCE Security Council, the Polish proposal said.

Sources close to the conference consider it unlikely that the idea of setting up a peace keeping forces will be included in the final document of the Prague meeting. A Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry official called it important that serious discussions of the proposal have started.

A Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry representative told CSTK today the budget for the three CSCE institutions—the Prague Secretariat, the Vienna-based Center for Conflict Prevention, and the Warsaw Office for Free Elections—is to be raised by 50 percent next year, i.e. by about 15 million Austrian schillings.

Under a financial draft to be discussed by the CSCE Senior Officials' Committee on Thursday, Prague would receive 25 million schillings, Vienna 15 million, and Warsaw nearly five million schillings. Czechoslovakia contributes two percent of the budget of the CSCE institutions.

Budgets Approved

AU2810154691 Prague CSTK in English 0128 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 24 (CSTK)—Participants in the three-day meeting of senior officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) today discussed preparations for a meeting of CSCE foreign ministers due to be held in Prague in January 1992 to deal with developments in Europe, including the current crisis in Yugoslavia.

The senior officials approved budgets for the Prague-based CSCE permanent secretariat (20 million schillings), the Vienna-based Center for Conflict Prevention (12.3 million), and the Warsaw-based Free Elections Office (3.0 million).

The head of the Czechoslovak delegation, Ivan Busniak, told CSTK that due to different stands by the Western countries' representatives, the issue of coordination between the European and transatlantic institutions—the CSCE, the European Community (EC), the Council of Europe, NATO, and the Western European Union—has not yet been settled.

Hungary, Poland, CSFR To Coordinate on EC

LD2810191391 Budapest MTI in English 1828 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 28 (MTI)—Facing similar problems on the issue of joining the European Communities, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland will coordinate their steps, representatives of the countries decided at a meeting today.

At the meeting, possibilities were discussed of exchanging information and coordinating issues affecting all three of them, especially regarding those concerning EC association and Free Trade agreements to be concluded with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries.

Also, the sides talked about their participation in Western aid projects for the Soviet Union and the possibility of a free trade agreement to be signed by Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

Present at the talks were Czechoslovak Deputy Minister of the Economy, Jiri Dradec, Deputy State Secretary of the Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations, Istvan Major, and State Secretary of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, Andrzej Olechowski.

Unions, Others Support Kosovo Republic

AU2810151991 Tirana ATA in English 0948 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 28 (ATA)—The Union of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania, the Association of the Albanian Teachers and Pedagogues, and the Presidency of the "Kosova" Patriotic Political Association and the Political Association "Memedheu," through statements in the press voice their support for the proclamation of the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state, for the results of the all national referendum and the creation of the Provisional Government of Coalition of the Republic of Kosovo.

The statements underline among others that these historic victories, not only for the people of Kosovo but for the entire Albanian nation, attained through democratic and peaceful ways will lead to the realisation of the just human and national aspirations of the Albanian people in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, to be equal with the other peoples.

We voice our profound indignation for the rather grave situation of the Albanian education, teachers and pedagogues, pupils and students in Kosovo. We back up their resolute struggle and appeal to our education and social national opinion and to the international one for an all-sided support in defence of the Albanian education and school and the national culture in Kosovo. Considering the Provisional Government as an authentic representative of the will of the people of Kosovo within the territory of the republic and in the international arena, we appeal to the public opinion, the governments and trade union organizations in Europe and in the world to recognize and support it unreservedly.

Alia Welcomes National Conciliation Assembly

AU2810172791 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1700 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] The representative of the President of the Republic's Press and Information Office has reported to an ATA correspondent that Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, received in his office today representatives of the intellectuals who have initiated the assembly of national conciliation and unity.

After informing himself of the assembly's program and aims, President Ramiz Alia welcomed the Albanian intellectuals' patriotic initiative of the Albanian, appreciating it as an important contribution to the national cause, which, as we are all aware, is now primary after the establishment of pluralist democracy in Albania. President Ramiz Alia stressed that there is now no political, ideological, or legal obstacle, and that it is even a vital necessity to achieve genuine national conciliation for the sake of the unity of Albanians wherever they are.

BASHKIMI Considers Proposal

AU2810151691 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 28 (ATA)—About three months ago, the Deputies Sali Berisha and Ajli Alushani presented in the parliament the idea of an all-national assembly. Later on, the political parties, especially that of the National Unity, laid the stress on this idea. Why is such an assembly indispensable, the newspaper "BASHKIMI" writes in one of its articles.

This thing, the newspaper points out, is dictated by the historic moment. The trunk of the nation is still divided in two parts, Cameria [words indistinct] as a rest of the policy of scorched earth against its population pursued by Greece, whereas national unity within the borders of Albania has now been split.

"BASHKIMI" stresses that it would be in the honour of the two parliaments and the two governments, of Albania and Kosovo to be the protagonists of such an initiative. The participants in the assembly, should, first of all, be parliamentarians and government members, representatives of all national political parties and organizations, high scientific, political and social personalities as well as political forces of the diaspora. There should also be invited persons from the Balkans, Europe and America, the Islamic world and Vatican.

This should be the assembly of unity which would work out the platform to put in its own place all the injustices history committed to this people.

Nano on SPA's Dissociation From Communism

AU2810151391 Tirana ATA in English 0941 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Tirana, October 28 (ATA)—The newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries an interview of Fatos Nano, chairman of the Socialist Party [SPA], which stresses among others that the meeting of the Leading Committee of the SPA decided that the national conference of this party be held on November 25, this year.

The mission of this conference, he stressed, is to analyse the process of the formation and consolidation of the Socialist Party since its creation on June 13, 1991, to adopt the fundamental program, the social one, the new statute and other documents which define the political physiognomy of this party as a force of the European democratic Left. This conference will give clear unequivocal answers regarding the indispensability of the alternative of democratic socialism in the pluralistic context in Albania, its irreconcilability with the totalitarian communism and the socialism of the Leninist-Stalinist-Enverian type and the need of an honest political fight among the opposition forces which would serve national reconciliation and the unity of the Albanian nation.

The acceptance of political pluralism, the compilation and defence of an electoral program and the massive discussion and approval of the new socialist draft-programme to be forwarded to the 10th Congress of the party, Fatos Nano underlines, were important steps which made possible the first dissociation from the Party of Labour [PLA] and Enver Hoxha, the avoidance from the Albanian political scene of the PLA as a force now already outdated from the time and unable to respond to the interests of the people and the progress of the homeland.

We shall fully dissociate from the policy of the PLA as a party-state, from its mistakes and those of Enver Hoxha. This is evident and incontestable. Regarding the right and obligation to judge with objectivity and realism on the policy and activity of the PLA, and in particular on its high-ranking leadership led by Enver Hoxha, the Socialist Party is on the same footing with other parties in Albania and has an honest political commitment without prejudices.

Ministers Speak to Local Officials on Reforms

AU2810204191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Statement by the Council of Ministers' Press and Information Office issued in Tirana on 28 October]

[Text] Today, on 28 October, the Council of Ministers, chaired by Prime Minister Ylli Bufi, held a meeting with leaders of the district executive committees. The problems discussed were strengthening public order, enforcing the Land Law, and the measures necessary to carry out the economic reform.

Opening the meeting, Prime Minister Ylli Bufi said that the government has decided to hold this meeting on the threshold of the implementation of its program for reform, which has received a vote of confidence in the People's Assembly at a time of great difficulty for the country. He then went on to talk about the still deteriorating economic situation, the destabilized state of public order, rising crime, procrastination in enforcing the land law, and delays in taking measures to start the economic reform. He also spoke about the responsibilities of the executive authorities, from the government down to the district executive committees. The economic reform, the prime minister emphasized, is not simply a technical matter but is tied to a range of political, economic, and social problems. It can be implemented only if the executive committees win the support of political forces, enforce the laws approved for this purpose, and do not allow their work to reflect the struggle of political parties. The government's program, the prime minister said, is not a party program. Politicization in the pluralist executive committees undermines the implementation of the reform.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers called to account the chairmen of the executive committees of some districts for delays in discussing problems raised by the trade unions. At a time when the trade unions, too, have spoken out in favor of starting the reform, which will be accompanied by belt-tightening and pain, there has been a noticeable tendency to raise peremptory economic demands that cannot be met under today's economic conditions, leading to the start of strikes in individual enterprises and even to district-scale general strikes.

The leaders of the executive committees then reported to the Council of Ministers about the public order situation, the enforcement of the Land Law, and measures to start the economic reform in their districts. Interrupting, members of the government asked questions and made the state authorities accountable for all their work. They demanded more initiative and effectiveness in paving the way for privatization, setting the economy in motion, stabilizing public order, securing foodstuffs and fuel, distributing land, and so forth. All of this work must be guided solely by the laws that have been approved, which the state authorities must be the first to apply, regardless of the attitudes of political forces. In particular, the government stressed that the public order and justice organs must identify and punish those who organized the blockage of the railroad lines and roads at Bajze and in Puke and Tepelene; the looting of warehouses and shops in Shkoder, Permet, and elsewhere; the illegal strikes; and so forth.

Bajram Yzeiri, minister of public order, spoke on public order problems in particular and emphasized that the people's demands for peace and the safety of life and property are more than fair. He outlined the present situation, which is marked by rising crime; an unprecedented increase in the number of cases of theft, looting, and murder; and a trend toward organized crime. He reported on the work of the public order organs and their urgent need for additional personnel, material resources, and so forth. He considered the comments of the chairmen of the district executive committee to be fair, except those of the chairman from Shkoder District. He emphasized that, in Shkoder, the forces of order have been renewed by local personnel at the request of the political forces, but, in contrast to many other districts, the support and cooperation of the Shkoder District Executive Committee has been lacking.

Zydi Pepa, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Central Land Commission, described to those present the current situation regarding land distribution. He emphasized that the reform for the transition to a market economy has genuinely begun in agriculture with the enforcement of the Land Law. Therefore, the full completion of land distribution is one of the greatest problems for the government and the executive committees. At present, only 26 percent of the total area of land has been distributed to peasants, and, at the present rate of progress, it will take three months to complete it.

Zydi Pepa later described the factors that have had a deleterious influence: delays in determining the borders

between villages, pressure to preserve old boundaries from individuals or groups of people in the villages; pressure from former owners; demands to take land from agricultural enterprises or land where schools or military facilities have been built; statements by parties and press articles against the Land Law; and so forth. He especially discussed the work of the executive committees, the district land distribution commissions, and the Agriculture Ministry.

Nexhmedin Dumani, minister of agriculture, then raised various problems regarding the work of the state authorities and the enforcement of the Council of Ministers' package of measures on agriculture.

Agim Mero, minister of domestic trade and tourism, reported on the present state of food supplies and the actual and anticipated arrival of foreign aid. He emphasized that this aid has arrived more slowly than was anticipated and that almost all of it has been distributed to the districts.

Dr. Gramoz Pashko, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, dwelt especially on the problem of privatization as one of the main features of the economic reform. He noticed clumsiness and slowness in the progress of privatization, even in the retail and service sectors, where it is relatively easy. Gramoz Pashko stressed the need for the state authorities to respect the law and to stop abuses. He also said that ideas and prejudices that prevent all citizens from joining in privatization must be combated. Gramoz Pashko stressed the need for full information about the present scale of privatization.

At the end of the meeting, Prime Minister Ylli Bufi emphasized the major role of the executive committees and the burden they bear in carrying out the economic reform. He stressed the need for chairmen and staff to thoroughly acquaint themselves with the laws and the government's decrees, and spoke again about the functioning of the state authorities regardless of party interests and political conflicts. It must be clear, he said, that it is not the parties but the laws of the legislature and the decisions of the government that direct the state.

Zhelev Meets With Staff at Defense Ministry

AU2810134091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] At the beginning of our lunchtime bulletin, I have a direct telephone link to Ministry of Defense expert Captain Second Rank Tsvyatko Tonchev, who has interesting information.

[Begin Tonchev recording] Good day! An hour ago, a meeting ended between the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, and generals and officers from the Ground Troops Command, the Antiaircraft Defense, the Air Force, and the Civil Defense of Bulgaria.

What was the meeting about? Dr. Zhelev acquainted those present with the results of his visit to Russia and elaborated on the reaction to the elections among the people and the political forces. He touched on the ethnic problem that is upsetting our society and expressed serious opinions on the important question of national security. As president, as supreme commander, Dr. Zhelev spoke about the processes prompted by the democratic changes in the country and, naturally, about the role and place of the Bulgarian Army in them. He expressed the position that the Army must continue its preparations in defense of national sovereignty. The officer personnel must continue to work in the new conditions of a depoliticized Bulgarian Army. Thus, this meeting that was planned in advance took place, and the officers had an opportunity to ask the president and the supreme commander questions. Thank you. [end recording]

Military Pact With Russia Planned

AU2810190091 Sofia BTA in English 1506 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 28 (BTA)—Today President Zhelev had talks with members of the Bulgarian Land Forces Headquarters. The discussion centered on some key problems in Bulgaria's political life after the elections, the priorities of the country's foreign policy and the role of the Army under the new conditions.

President Zhelev stressed that the government attaches much importance to the ongoing depoliticization in the Army. According to him, the fears that the recent parliamentary changes may influence the Army are groundless. Bulgaria will seek national security guarantees in the West as well as in the East, Dr. Zhelev said. In the president's view, the good relations that have been established with the Russian Federation are an example of Bulgaria's orientation towards a balanced foreign policy.

Dr. Zhelev said that Bulgaria and Russia are to sign a military agreement on the supply of spare parts to the Armed Forces. Russia has declared its readiness to pay part of the 100 million dollars the Soviet Union owes Bulgaria for arms deliveries.

Dr. Zhelev said that the political centre's failure to get into parliament should not be dramatized because extra-parliamentary political forces can also play the role of a centre. Dr. Zhelev said that he is not concerned over the present parliamentary role of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) because the DPS and the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) may have identical views on a number of issues. According to Dr. Zhelev, Bulgaria's ethnic problem will take years to settle; any attempt to resolve it overnight, including by use of force, is not only doomed to failure but may prove dangerous as well.

Details of Socialist Plenum Reported

AU2810181891 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 24 Oct 91 pp 1, 6

[Report by Boyka Bashlieva and Dora Chichkova: "Socialists Have Chance To Give Bulgarian Opposition New Image"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is no longer a ruling party. The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] won the election with a minimal advantage, while the BSP has a respectable advantage in the municipal elections. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] assumed an important place in the legislature and has the opportunity to play an important role in it.

According to Aleksandur Lilov, those postelection facts require a serious analysis and correct assessment of the BSP future role and importance. This was the goal of the plenum of the BSP Supreme Council, which opened on 23 October.

The party's new strategy under the existing political conditions will be determined by the congress, which the chairman proposed to convene in December. Earlier dates were proposed during the discussion, and a proposal was voiced to postpone the congress until after the presidential elections.

The BSP chairman said in his expose that several variants of assessing the elections exist. Some people see 13 October as a new retreat, others see the election results as positive.

There is a third approach, which first of all concentrates on the unconventional character of the situation after 13 October, Aleksandur Lilov pointed out. The BSP lost the absolute majority in the legislature. However, it will have a large, strong legislative faction. It would be impossible to adopt the most important laws and amendments of the Constitution without the support of the BSP faction. In addition, the Bulgarian Socialists have the chance to give society a new, democratic, intelligent, and highly professional opposition of the European type, the party chairman thinks.

According to him, now the BSP will be able to devote much more time and forces to its own change, something that will help the party consolidate as a leftist force of society.

There is no place for excessive optimism or for dramatizing the election results. They are favorable for the BSP and allow the party to survive both physically and politically. The BSP will not have to experience the defeat of the former communist parties in the other East European countries. It is prepared to become an opposition party, which now will concentrate on the social protection of the people.

According to Aleksandur Lilov, the assessment of the elections cannot be limited to a narrow party framework. Despite certain violations, the elections as a whole were peaceful and honest, and they represent progress in the development of the democratic process in our country.

Simultaneously, one can clearly see a turn to the right with all the consequences springing from this fact, Aleksandur Lilov said. Repressive measures against the party, such as confiscating its property, trials, and slandering individual members, can be expected. The danger of having a short-lived and unstable legislature exists. Simultaneously, the BSP chairman did not exclude measures for stabilizing the legislature and the future government.

Aleksandur Lilov said that the reasons that produced the election results have international and domestic character. He thinks that television and radio have negatively influenced the BSP image.

Aleksandur Lilov recalled that the leftist political forces were disunited during the election campaign. The failure of the centrist forces to enter the legislature was assessed by him as a great loss.

According to Valentin Vatsev, chairman of the Alternative Socialist Association [ASO], Dertliev's doctrine is by no means centrist. He expressed regret that the renewal of the party is connected to a certain degree with that name. ASO strives to give the party a social-democratic character. However, it is forced to do this through the back door because Dertliev, who was excessively bolshevized, blocks the front door. According to Vatsev, the leftist center is within the BSP, and it must consolidate within the party rather than outside its ranks.

The manner in which the BSP will act in the future to remain a leading political force with an active role in democratizing the country is a basic issue for Georgi Pirinski. According to him, the present strategy of gradual retreat must be replaced by a power counterattack and a strong and pragmatic policy.

Aleksandur Tomov assessed the elections as a political loss. He pointed out that there should be no illusions about the character of the future government. A draft law on the total confiscation of BSP property has been prepared. The unpopular measures, which the new cabinet will have to undertake, could be backed by a strong government. This government will be rightist and aimed against the BSP. The party has no international support. It is isolated even vis-a-vis the USSR, Aleksandur Tomov thinks.

Nothing terrible has happened, but there also is no reason to celebrate—this is how Stefan Stoilov sees the election results. According to him, one must take into account the inevitable blows the party will receive, and he stressed that work related to organizing the legislative faction must begin already next week.

At present, it is impossible to clearly and precisely assess the election results in a manner that could effectively serve the party, Yuriy Borisov said. Political processes stand behind the numbers, and special sociological research is necessary to reveal their meaning. Only through such research could one clarify the reasons for supporting the BSP, as well as the reasons for hostility or indifference.

The election results are positive, but the BSP could do better, Zakhari Zakhariev said. We were disturbed by several factors—the unresolved issue of the BSP social basis, the lack of a clear and categorical position on the ethnic issue and national security, and the unresolved issue of the party property and its companies, he said.

Your party will preserve its mass character only if it uncompromisingly defends the interests of the working people, Velko Vulkanov, nonparty member, said.

Elena Poptodorova was positively surprised by the election results. However, she is concerned with the fact that the number of BSP voters decreased by 15 percent, something that indicates alarming tendencies.

With about 36 percent, the SDS demonstrated in the Rand National Assembly how a minority can effectively participate in the government, Miroslav Popov, cochairman of the "Road to Europe" Movement, said. According to him, for better or worse, the Bulgarian society oriented itself toward the bipolar model. This allows the BSP to become a powerful leftist force, which could also occupy the vacuum produced by the "center," which proved to be fiction.

Comparing the 1990 and 1991 election results is not sufficient reason to speak about steady tendencies, Aleksandur Marinov thinks. The party is not threatened by defeat, although it will continue to absorb blows.

Filip Bokov thinks that the dispute whether the party has won or lost is futile. The results are good for the BSP but bad for the country from the viewpoint of the increasing influence of Turkey in Bulgaria and the sharp turn to the right in internal policy. At the emerging possibility that laws would be adopted against the opinion of the BSP, the only chance the party has is in turning to public opinion. A serious change is necessary if the party is to survive, and forthis reason all personal considerations must be relinquished. Bokov supported the proposal of Georgi Pirinski to leave the preparations for the next congress to a special commission, in which Aleksandur Lilov and Andrey Lukanov will not be members.

Petya Shopova said that she expects from the chairman a sign about the change in the party. Her statement prompted retorts on the part of Aleksandur Lilov and

Aleksandur Tomov. According to Lilov, a new round in the BSP leadership struggle will be fatal for the party. Tomov said that personalities are not important. The important thing is to unite the people who will be elected to the Presidium, so that its activity would not be blocked as the case was until now.

According to Andrey Lukanov, the personification of the political problems is an old party illness. It also emerges in the assessment of the elections. Despite the relatively good for the BSP results, an unfavorable social-psychological climate exists for the party. We have to deal not merely with a radical rightist force but also with a reactionary formation, with which it is very difficult to behave as an elegant opposition, Lukanov thinks. According to him, the weak link of the governing coalition is in its economic policy, which will undermine its social basis. The governing coalition is also vulnerable in anything related to its foreign policy orientation. The national security is threatened, and the country's dependence increases. The election results are unacceptable for both the rightist forces and their foreign patrons, Lukanov thinks. This means that not merely blows aimed at weakening or eliminating the BSP should be expected. Provocations aimed at prompting legislative measures on banning the party are also possible. One must not dramatize personal sacrifices if the party is to survive. Lukanov confirmed in his statement that it is impossible for him to remain any longer in the BSP Presidium.

According to Svetoslav Michev, the election results could be described as respectable, if one did not live in Bulgaria. As it is, the results will prompt difficult blows against the party. Perhaps after two months we will not have to discuss the issue of the party property because, until then, it will be confiscated, Michev pointed out. He expressed concern that the activity of the legislative minority could be covered by an informational fog.

Boyan Kirov recommended assuming the political initiative in the legislature. According to him, the BSP parliament members must demand a law on employment and a referendum on the restitution.

Nora Ananieva posed the practical problems of the future legislative faction. Nenko Temelkov spoke about relations with the trade unions.

Klara Marinova, Boyko Mizov, Vrubka Obretsova, Dimitur Mikhaylov, Savka Yovkova, Nikolay Kamov, Georgi Bozhinov, and Doncho Konakchiev spoke at the 23 October meeting of the BSP Supreme Council plenum.

The following persons took part in the plenum: members of the BSP Supreme Council and the BSP Election Center; the chairmen of the regional party councils; the leaders of the BSP election lists; leaders of ideological currents; the chief editors of the party publications; and people's representatives.

The discussion did not end until late in the night of 23 and 24 October. We shall inform you in addition about further statements and decisions that have been adopted.

DPS Support 'Not Contingent' on Cabinet Role

AU2810165291 Sofia BTA in English 1633 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 28 (BTA)—"The parliamentary support of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) will not be contingent on its participation in the new government," Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), told the press after his meeting with DPS leaders. At their first formal meeting in the morning the representatives of the two parliamentary forces agreed to hold further talks in three days.

Mr. Dimitrov confirmed the SDS view that in principle there were no obstacles to the representation of any democratic organization in the new government. However, under the circumstances, the SDS would rather form a cabinet of its own.

Even if it is not represented in the future cabinet, the DPS will definitely influence its formation, the SDS will have at least to take into consideration the DPS opinion on individual ministerial nominations, a participant in today's meeting told BTA on condition of anonymity. According to the same source, this complicates even further the process of cabinet formation on which the Podkrepa Labour Confederation, among others, is trying to exert influence. At the end of last week the Podkrepa Confederation Council declared itself against the nomination of Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, the incumbent minister of industry, trade and services, to the future cabinet.

At their meeting today the SDS and DPS leaders discussed possible measures against the "artificial escalation" of ethnic tensions in some parts of the country, participants in the meeting said.

Winter Power Supply Situation 'Problematic'

AU2810185491 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 28 Oct 91

["Power Supply Problematic Again"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 28 (BTA)—The supply of energy resources is problematic in Bulgaria once again at the beginning of the winter.

The Committee on Power Engineering has concluded contracts with the Soviet Union for the delivery of 4,395,000 tonnes of coal and 4,500 million kw/h [kilo-

watt-hours] of electric power in 1991, Mr. Ivan Grozdanov, spokesman for the committee, told BTA. But in August the Soviet Union warned it would reduce coal shipments and on October 25 it telexed a notice that it would supply no more coal until the year's end for "force majeure" reasons. As a result, Bulgaria will not receive 1,550,000 tonnes of coal for two thermal power plants with a total capacity of 1,830 megawatts. For four weeks now the Soviet Union has not allowed electricity exports of over 480 megawatts, while the contracts envisage exports of 800 megawatts [mw].

Experts hope that the 1,000-mw Unit Five of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, which was shut down for refueling six months ago, will be back in operation soon. After the shutdown of the 440-mw Units One and Two any failure in the thermal power plants will require rationing of power supply for household and industrial use, according to experts.

The 120 megawatt generating unit of the Maritsa-3 Thermal Power Plant was switched on but coal is in short supply there as well.

Havel Gives News Conference on U.S. Visit

LD2810162691 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1224 GMT 28 Oct 91

[News conference by President Vaclav Havel in Bratislava on his return from the United States—live]

[Excerpts] [Havel] [passage omitted] We naturally discussed the situation in Yugoslavia. We talked about the North Atlantic Alliance. In this connection, I would like to mention one thing. For about a year, I have been reading in the newspapers that Czechoslovakia is vainly and desparately knocking on the North Atlantic Alliance's door, and that door remains locked and Czechoslovakia is being rejected. I have said many times, at various press conferences and in various interviews—but obviously this fact has not been registered very much, as these questions continue to crop up all the time—I have said that the North Atlantic Alliance is not a stamp collectors' or a pigeon fanciers' club, where one sends in an application form, the club reads it, and after some time informs the applicant that he has been accepted and he receives his membership card. One does not send in applications to NATO; NATO invites one to membership. We have not been applying for membership. A NATO membership requires a certain compatibility of political systems, economic systems, military systems, command and communication systems, and so on—but above all, an invitation is extended only to a country that from the point of view of the entire concept and strategy—geopolitical—of the North Atlantic Alliance seems to the Alliance to be suitable and fit to be invited to join this pact. As we have never applied for membership, we have never been refused membership.

We have from the very beginning been discussing our cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance, the deepening of this cooperation, because we have known from the very beginning that it is the only one, and if not the only one, then certainly the most productive and most consistent defense and security democratic alliance on European soil. And no matter how the future European security system forms—and there is no doubt that there will be some radical changes because Europe has to take into account the great changes that have taken place—Europe is not cut into two halves by the Iron Curtain dividing the two pacts. No matter what the form of European security eventually is, it is clear that the North Atlantic Alliance will continue to exist for a long time. [passage omitted]

I am unable to answer whether the trip has been successful. First, it is actually not up to me to assess this; and second, it cannot be assessed right away. It is a matter that cannot be gauged from a couple of articles in papers, be they Czech, Slovak, or Los Angeles ones. The real effect is spread around in a special way, and it will—or will not—be measured in time. I can only say that I am returning home tired, but with the feeling that the visit has had a great significance.

That's all, and I am now ready to answer your questions, if any. [passage omitted]

[Masiacka] Adriana Masiacka, Slovak News Agency [Slovenska Tlacova Kancelaria]. Mr. President, I would like to ask you what you can do to put right the spread of disinformation about our federation. I am thinking about the statement by Rita Klimova, ambassador to the United States, about anti-Jewish demonstrations in Slovakia.

[Havel] Yes, I talked to her about this. It appeared that, in fact, this disinformation was caused by an incorrect translation. She said that expressions of anti-Semitism are emerging in Slovakia, which is true. I can confirm this. I know it. Expressions of anti-Semitism are emerging here, just as they are emerging in the Czech lands. Nevertheless, she did not say that demonstrations were held here. But instead of writing "expressions," they wrote "demonstrations." This is a matter of translation, which she could not check in any way. Maybe it was a mistake that she did not have it sent for authentication. There was one more mistake in the translation; I cannot remember it now.

[Unidentified moderator] It was the place where Mrs. Klimova talked about the fact that, the newspapers wrote, "innate [vrozeny] anti-Semitism" is emerging in some places in Slovakia and Poland. She said "endemic" anti-Semitism, which for the Americans was perhaps a word which they translated as "innate." We talked to her about this and, in the meantime, she had already denied it officially, and she is very sorry that the newspapers quoted her as they did.

[Havel] I would like to add only one thing, and that is that the embassy is doing a very good job. Mrs. Klimova is very popular there, both among the compatriots, Czechs and Slovaks, and among Americans. During the visit, she worked very hard. When Slovak Prime Minister Carnogursky was there recently, she helped him a lot. For two hours, she explained to him everything about the American political scene, so that he would be well prepared for his visit there. This matter is only a silly misunderstanding. It is not her fault. [passage omitted]

[Pechackova] Marcela Pechackova. The fact that you had several meetings with the expatriate community during the trip (?is well known). And since you have been continually talking about successes and praise, I would like to recall one incident, which occurred at the meeting with expatriates in Bethlehem. One of the participants in the meeting called you a traitor, and the other one wished, during your lecture, that you had remained imprisoned. How did you feel then?

[Havel] I would like to correct esteemed editor Mrs. Pechackova. She maintained that I have been continually speaking about the success of our visit here. What I kept talking about was its purpose and aim and, in conclusion, I said others should judge whether it was successful or not. But as far as this particular matter is

concerned, well, yes, indeed, some middle-aged gentleman... [changes thought] A question was put to me from the audience whether I would be running in the next presidential elections. At that very moment, a middle-aged gentleman sprang up and started screaming at me: You must not, and you will not run for the presidency, because you are a traitor to the people, because you have not hanged any communists yet. The answer I gave him was: We have not hanged any communists, and we will not hang anyone anymore. We have abolished capital punishment, and we are building a democratic state based on the rule of law.

Controversies of this type voiced during various debates do not bother me at all. On the contrary, I quite enjoy them. They bring in a certain tension, a certain breath of life. As soon as this man pronounced those words, people around him started to shout him down, they kept pushing him away and almost strangled him and so on. [laughs]. It adds life and dynamism to these events. One is frequently tired when one is on a tight schedule from morning to night, and incidents like this one are excellent for waking one up. [passage omitted]

[Lyne] Michael Lyne, THE WASHINGTON POST. How do you see the prospects for holding a referendum on the future of the federation? Do you believe it will be held before the elections in June, or do you believe it will end up being blocked? [passage omitted]

[Havel] I don't know, naturally. The law says a president cannot declare a referendum when he feels like it. If he could, I would tell you when there will be one. According to the law, a president can declare a referendum when the Federal Assembly agrees on the wording of the question that would be posed in a referendum. Whether the Federal Assembly will at all decree a question, and what the question will be, I do not know at the moment. Anything is possible. It is possible the Federal Assembly will decide not to hold a referendum for the time being. It is possible it will decide to hold one but will disagree on the question. And then again, it may well agree on the wording of the question. I really do not know that at the moment, but it is likely that everybody will know very soon, as the forthcoming plenary session of the Federal Assembly will have this issue on the agenda.

More on the subject of the referendum—if the Federal Assembly does decide to hold it, it would have to take place in December, because the same law says that a referendum cannot take place in less than five months before the election, and so the expiration date is December. I personally would be very happy if the referendum took place in December, but it is no longer just up to me. Many citizens, as you know, have signed a petition in favor of the referendum. [passage omitted]

Rallies Mark Country's Foundation Anniversary

LD2810210691 Prague CSTK in English 2022 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 28 (CSTK)—"We support the common state, Czechoslovakia, not only because we would pay very much for its disintegration, but because we see in it unification of forces which is so necessary," Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier today told some 3,000 people who took part in a rally marking the 73rd anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia (October 28, 1918).

The rally, held in Prague Wenceslas Square, was organised by the Civic Movement (OH) together with other political parties and movements.

Later today some 3,000 attended a meeting in support of the "citizens' appeal" calling for the holding of a referendum on the constitutional setup of the state.

Participants in the meeting, which was also held in Wenceslas Square, chanted "Long Live Havel" when hearing that the president left a meeting in Bratislava after Slovak separatists whistled and chanted "Enough of Havel", "Enough of Prague" and "Independent Slovakia" in response to Havel's proposal to pay homage by a two-minute silence to persons who died in the struggle for freedom of the Czech and Slovak nations.

The "Citizens' appeal" has been so far signed by some 890,000 persons.

Some 1,000 people attended a rally in Brno, south Moravia, held under the slogan "Self-Governing Moravia - Guarantee of Czechoslovakia's Unity."

The rally was organised by the Liberal-Social Union, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Farmers' Party, the Greens Party, the Civic Movement, the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and other parties and movements.

Speakers who addressed the rally supported the preservation of the common state. Some of them warned against the German "Drang Nach Osten" which is already evident in Germany's economic expansion.

Participants in the rally signed a "petition for the preservation of the common Czechoslovak state" addressed to President Vaclav Havel, and the chairpersons of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak parliaments.

Rallies marking the 73rd anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia were also held in other Czech and Slovak cities.

Bratislava Rally Disrupted

LD2810182191

[Editorial Report] Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak at 1500 GMT on 28 October broadcasts a 30-minute live relay from the Slovak

National Uprising Square in Bratislava where a rally is taking place to mark the 73rd anniversary of the foundation of the republic. The rally is organized by the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence (CDU-VPN) in cooperation with the Democratic Party, the Hungarian Independent Initiative, and others. The radio commentator notes that the rally program is to include an address by President Vaclav Havel who is to arrive in the square at about 1515 GMT. The rally is opened by Martin Porubjak, deputy Slovak prime minister and chairman of the CDU-VPN. Then Jan Holcik, Slovak minister of industry and chairman of the Democratic Party makes a short speech, defending the preservation of the common state and accusing Slovak nationalists of telling lies about a wonderful future in independent Slovakia. The next to speak is a guest from Prague, Federal Assembly Deputy Michael Kocab, who expresses his love for Slovakia and advocates a common state, or at least good relations if the state should split.

At 1525 GMT Havel arrives and makes the following brief statement in Czech: "I propose for all of us jointly to now observe a two-minute silence to pay respect to the memory of all those who have lost their lives for the freedom of our nations." Havel's statement is followed by chanting and whistling that lasts for two minutes. The radio commentator notes: "Esteemed listeners, as you can hear, the situation is quite stormy here. Many are chanting, are unable to keep quiet even for those two minutes that President Vaclav Havel asked them for to pay respect to the memory of those who lost their lives for the freedom of our nations."

The rally chairman, Slovak National Council deputy Miroslav Dziak-Kosicky, is then heard stating: "I would like to draw you attention to a small fact that you obviously missed. The president has asked you to observe a two-minute silence. I am asking you, did you all hear it?" He goes on to say: "I would like to tell you one more thing: If there were no Czechs and Slovaks, this republic of ours would have not a single problem. But the question is, would there be Czechs and Slovaks if there was not this republic. And I think that there would not be—there would not be a single Slovak who could be shouting: We have had enough of Prague, and we want independence." He then states: "I have been authorized by the organizers to end this meeting, and I do indeed thank you for your participation."

The radio commentator then notes: Esteemed listeners, as you can hear, the Slovak National Council Deputy Miroslav Dziak-Kosicky, who is chairing today's rally, closed this meeting. At the platform were besides Vaclav Havel; Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly; Frantisek Miklosko, Chairman of the the Slovak National Council; Dagmar Buresova, chairwoman of the Czech National Council; Mr Snopko, Slovak Minister of Culture; Marian Calfa, Federal prime minister; Petr Pithart, Czech prime minister. The whole delegation has now left the platform, and I have to say that many of those present here at the rally behaved in an uncivilized manner, or one could say even worse than that. Eggs were thrown at the platform. We have heard firecrackers banging, and there were several rioters who used flagpoles—we do not know how they used them, but we saw the rioters being taken away by the police. This is all from the Slovak National Uprising Square.".

Havel Comments on Disturbance

LD2810182991 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1800 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, granted an interview to CSTK after his arrival from Bratislava. About the rally in Bratislava, he said that it was a process of crystallization of Slovak society, which is searching for its face and its future, whether it will follow a path of democracy or a path of intolerance and fanaticism.

His experience at the Slovak National Uprising Square was described by the president in these words: In Bratislava, I observed a two-minute silence to pay respect to the memory of those who lost their lives for the freedom of the Czech and Slovak nations. Some fellow citizens who gathered at the square spent that time, not in observing the two-minute silence, but instead by throwing eggs at the platform. They did not hit me. It is not easy for them to hit me, the Czechoslovak president said.

Calfa, Miklosko Condemn Incident

LD2810211191 Prague CSTK in English 2040 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 28 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa today told CSTK that state bodies, particularly the security ones, which were expected to ensure the organisation of the meeting (in Bratislava), completely failed.

Calfa was referring to the meeting in Bratislava today marking the 73rd anniversary of the Czechoslovak state, which was interrupted by Slovak separatists who refused to keep quiet for a moment of homage to people who died for the freedom of the Czechs and Slovaks.

Calfa suggested the creation of a commission to investigate the incident. The provocation in the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava was an expression "of hooliganism which must be condemned and pilloried," Calfa said.

The chairman of the Slovak National Council (parliament), Frantisek Miklosko, disassociated himself from the incident and condemned it resolutely. "The situation is moreover complicated by the fact that at the time when discussions (on the constitutional setup of the state) between the Czech and Slovak National Councils (parliaments) continue... in the eyes of the whole republic and Europe we look like vandals torpedoing and violating everything," Miklosko stressed.

Organisers of today's meeting in Bratislava issued a statement condemning the incident, saying that "thousands of citizens participating in the meeting were confronted with a group of about 200-300 supporters of independent Slovakia who grossly disturbed the rally," they said.

The statement called for the drawing of consequences from the incident and its investigation. It stressed the need for finding out who organised and financed the transport of provocateurs to Bratislava.

Carnogursky Unhappy With EC Accord Preparations

AU2910095391 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 26 Oct 91 p 1

["Extract" from interview with Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by Ivan Melichercik; place and date not given: "Why Should We Be Hidden From Europe When We Are Already in It?!"]

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky granted an interview to CSTK Correspondent Ivan Melichercik, in which he aired his views on some topical issues. We are publishing the following extract from the interview:

[Melichercik] Are you satisfied with the preparations for the association agreement between the CSFR and the EC?

[Carnogursky] I am not satisfied with the CSFR delegation's approach toward the negotiations. At least six months ago, we demanded that the current valid constitutional situation in the CSFR be mentioned in the association agreement. That is, the CSFR is a federation composed of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. When we made inquiries among some European Community representatives, we were informed that the European Community could agree to such wording in the association agreement, if the CSFR delegation as a whole were to submit this demand. However, prior to this August, the CSFR delegation had not submitted the demand because of resistance from the delegation's Czech Government representative. During the course of September, we agreed on the wording of this part of the CSFR draft in negotiations with the European Community. Minister Jaroslav Sabata, the Czech Government representative, Federal Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenko Pirek, and I concurred in this. However, the Czechoslovak delegation once again—for reasons I am not acquainted with—did not introduce this demand at the talks held in Brussels on 3 October. We are demanding that both republics be mentioned in the association agreement because, in accordance with the existing division of jurisdiction between the federation and the republics, approximately 80 percent of the rights and obligations arising out of the association agreement should be fulfilled directly by the republics. Therefore, in the interest of flexibility in the individual negotiations, it is necessary for the republican ministries and other bodies to be able to negotiate directly with European Community bodies. Finally, why should the Czech and Slovak Republics be hidden from Europe when they are already in it?

[Melichercik] The recent meeting between representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia has been described as a good starting point for the preparation of talks between the chairmen of both movements. What, in fact, are the conditions for your meeting with Vladimir Meciar, and what should the outcome of this meeting be?

[Carnogursky] The Christian Democratic Movement is not a party that follows the leadership principle, and it is not necessary for the movement's chairman to conduct negotiations on important issues. The recent negotiations between delegations from both movements exhausted all issues of mutual interest, and no issues that would have to be dealt with by the movements' chairmen are left.

[Prague CSTK in English at 1952 GMT on 25 October carries the following report: Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky said today in an interview with CSTK that significant differences remain between Czech and Slovak legislative leaders on Czechoslovakia's future constitutional arrangement.

The presidia of the two legislatures met earlier this week at Stirin, near Prague, for two days of talks on a treaty between the two republics. The talks will continue October 31 and November 1.

"At the end of the Stirin talks, a general debate arose on the substance and nature of the treaty, and it turned out that the positions not only of the two republics, but also of the parties and (political) movements in the Czech Republic and in Slovakia, are significantly different," said Carnogursky.

"I have the impression there has not yet been any fundamental turning point in the talks," he said.

He added that a breakup of the country would entail risks for both republics.

"For this reason, it is necessary to make the most of all possibilities for talks on (Czechoslovakia's) future structure," he said.]

Chief Arms Export Controller on Arms Issues

AU2410200991 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Oct 91 p 7

[Interview with Stefan Glezgo, director of the Department for Control of Trade With Military Materiel at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade, by Andrej Surnak; place and date not given: "Weapons and the Law"]

[Excerpt] [Surnak] This spring the media devoted far greater attention to the arms trade than ever before, be it in connection with the Slovak conversion plans or with

our deals with Arab countries. As far as I know, you are of the opinion that journalists should not be too zealous in uncovering sensations in this area, because those who do often damage the interests of the state in the process.... What would you call a state interest in this area, as far as the CSFR is concerned?

[Glezgo] There has been much talk about this issue. Virtually all our leading representatives have expressed their opinion on the arms trade.

I disagree with those who say that the arms trade is a trade like any other. It is a very specific kind of trade. Political considerations play a major role and, consequently, the state interests of Czechoslovakia are also reflected here. A certain type of policy is also implemented through the arms trade. It goes without saying that a number of secret facts are involved here. The mere revelation of these facts can cause damage to the standing of Czechoslovakia in the world. In other words, more is at stake than the mere prevention of the deals themselves. I will give you an example. Czechoslovakia banned the production and export of Semtex H, which was known in the world under the general name Semtex. A new explosive for industrial purposes was developed, Semtex A1, which, unlike its predecessor, can be detected, and I see no reason why the CSFR should not export this explosive for industrial purposes, in the same way as other countries export explosives. A number of statements had been made in connection with Semtex—that we used to sell it to Libya, which then supplied terrorist organizations. Naturally, the Libyan side issued several protests and we, because we knew that we did not sell Semtex just to Libya, issued a statement to this effect. The Libyans set this as a condition for talks with us on other issues. This was natural because Libya really was not the only country to which we had exported Semtex. But the press—to be specific, one of your colleagues who published only a part of our statement—abused this and thereby thwarted our whole initiative. It was truly a sensation-seeking article and for months after its publication we used to receive reports from abroad to the effect that Czechoslovakia was exporting Semtex again and that it was again pursuing its old policy. A single article can cause such damage.

[Surnak] You are a Federal Assembly deputy [for the Public Against Violence movement] and, at the same time, director of the Department for Control of Trade With Military Material (KOVOM) at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade. Recently the weekly RESPEKT made some not very flattering remarks about you in this regard.

[Glezgo] RESPEKT wanted to publish an interview with us but, in view of our being quite overburdened and because the issues involved were quite delicate, we did not provide RESPEKT with sufficient information or, to be precise, RESPEKT obtained information from other sources. As a result, much of the information that was published was incorrect. I am not deputy minister but director of KOVOM. I am subordinate directly to the minister and have no deputy minister above me. As far as my work in the [Federal Assembly's] Defense and Security Affairs Committee is concerned, I had been released from it long before I took up this job. In other words, RESPEKT was wrong when it claimed that I control myself, that I approve my own decisions [made at the ministry] in the Defense and Security Affairs Committee. What is also completely absurd is the claim that Baksay, Calfa, and myself—by the way, I was pleased to find myself in such company—uphold the interests of Central Slovakia [where most of the Slovak arms industry is concentrated] and have been trying to export weapons. I will, naturally, uphold the interests of [Central] Slovakia because I am a deputy for that region.... RESPEKT's attacks were devoid of support.

[Surnak] Your department is called KOVOM. I have heard that KOVOM's activity does not meet the requirement that the sphere that is responsible for drafting programs, coordination, and approval be separate from the sphere of implementation.... Indeed, some of KOVOM's powers and commitments have been transferred to it from the Main Technical Administration [of the Czechoslovak Army]....

[Glezgo] The Main Technical Administration could conclude deals, either itself or through [the foreign trade enterprise] Omnipol. The Main Technical Administration was, in fact, engaged in trade in the sphere of military material. Today Omnipol is one of many organizations [engaged in the arms trade] and KOVOM does not have the right to trade. We do not strike deals; we only exercise control over this area by means of permits and licenses.

[Surnak] What is the difference between a permit and a license?

[Glezgo] Permits are issued to Czechoslovak legal persons because only legal persons can trade with military material in our country. The permit entitles the holder to engage in such trade. It specifies with what kind of military material he may trade in and in which territory. There are two organizations in the CSFR that have the universal right to trade with military material, that is, with all components listed in the supplement to the government's resolution No. 174. Territorially, they are restricted only by the interests of Czechoslovak foreign policy. These two organizations are Omnipol and Unimpex. Other organizations have specific permits. Manufacturing organizations' permits are restricted to what they produce, and other trade organizations' permits are restricted to a certain type of merchandise—for example, to items that have been discarded by the Army. This is done on the basis of a letter of offer that they receive from the Army. In addition, they are subject to territorial restrictions.

[Surnak] What is the procedure?

[Glezgo] The relevant organization first gets a permit entitling it to sign a contract. It can then sign the contract, and then it applies for an export license. The

license contains information on the quantity and price of the merchandise and on the end user.

We are demanding a so-called anti-reexport clause to prevent the goods from being reexported to a different territory. In other words, licenses are issued for specific deals. If the deal is problematic, from the viewpoint of territory for example, we request the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' opinion or the matter is discussed by an inter-ministerial commission.

[Surnak] With respect to its own arms exports, the United States strictly monitors and controls observance of the anti-reexport clause. What are the capabilities of your department in this regard?

[Glezgo] The recipients are mostly ministries of defense, which is in itself a certain guarantee. The end user certificates are always issued by the official bodies of state administration of the country concerned, which means that they assume responsibility for them. In this way, the state officially commits itself to ensuring that the goods in question will not be re-exported. If it violates this commitment, we can protest, but first we have to prove it. You say that the United States avails itself of the possibility of control. That is true, but you probably know very well that, even though the United States demands and controls them, American weapons do find their way to territories where the United States does not wish to see them.

[Surnak] But in that case the United States can apply certain sanctions against the country that does not honor its trade commitments. What about us?

[Glezgo] During its existence, KOVOM has not yet come across such a case.

[Surnak] How many companies are there in our country at present that may deal in arms?

[Glezgo] There are 15 of them. I have already spoken about Omnipol and Unimpex. The others are AERO Vodochody, Avia Letnany, ZTS [Heavy Engineering Works] Detva, ZVS [General Engineering Works] Dubnica, ZTS Dubnica, Mercuria.... The smaller part of them are limited liability companies with a permit for exporting gas masks and military equipment for museums. The last group are firms that have received "ad hoc" permits for specific cases and specific countries.

[Surnak] Why have only two organizations that have been granted the so- called universal permits? Why do the other organizations not have the same rights as Omnipol or Unimpex?

[Glezgo] There are two ways of acquiring weapons—from the manufacturer or from the Army, weapons that have been discarded by it. Two universal organizations suffice fully for the volume at hand. I do not think that there should be more such companies because the market is quite saturated. It could easily happen that three Czechoslovak organizations would try to sell the same merchandise on the same market. The only effect would be a lower price.

[Surnak] If one of the manufacturers [with a permit to export arms] established a joint venture with a foreign partner, he would lose the permit, because the permits can be acquired only by Czechoslovak legal persons. Should the new law not be more liberal in this regard?

[Glezgo] I personally am in favor of forfeiture of the permit in this instance.

[Surnak] But that puts some companies at a disadvantage.

[Glezgo] The state must protect its interests in matters of such importance. At the same time, I do not rule out the possibility that a somewhat different approach might be applied in relation to major producers.

[Surnak] Omnipol, which until recently had the monopoly in the area of arms trade, was made into a great bogey man full of agents of the State Security, KGB, and other organizations. It is rumored that KOVOM originated as an organization that separated from Omnipol on 1 January of this year. As far as I know, you became its director on 1 April. Do you believe that by a simple change in legislation the people who were closely associated with Omnipol could gain a sense for competition with other private companies, for example companies in Slovakia?

[Glezgo] I would like to specify that the KOVOM section began to form professionally only when I joined the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade. New people represent 60 percent of the staff, and only the remaining 40 percent are employees of the former Main Technical Administration.

Furthermore, there was not just a change in legislation; real competition to Omnipol arose. There are new companies that have the right to trade and that do so. Another matter is the level to which they use this right. To date, only four companies have applied for a license and used the opportunity. If someone comes to us with a complete business transaction, we assess it regardless of whether it is Omnipol or any other organization.

[Surnak] Is there any truth to the rumor that individual Omnipol staffers have a special foreign trade license?

[Glezgo] I am not qualified to answer this question. Certainly, no Omnipol employee has a foreign trade license for trade in military material.

[Surnak] Since January 1990, the Federal Assembly had dealt with the problems connected with arms production and marketing only sporadically and superficially. It has not taken a stand even on such a significant document as the concept of Czechoslovak arms production. Until now, neither the production nor the trade of arms have

been legislatively interpreted in the form of a law. As a deputy, would you support the adoption of an appropriate law?

[Glezgo] Yes, and I have even initiated it. We have been pressing for the adoption of such a law either by itself or as an independent part of the law on entrepreneurial and business activity. [passage omitted]

Official Outlines New Secret Service Law

AU2610150991 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Jan Duchek, director of the Military Defense Intelligence Headquarters, by Rostislav Rod on 23 October; place not given: "In Defense of the Army"]

[Text] "We have recently become aware of a great deal of interest in the Czechoslovak Army—from all sides. We cannot reproach our neighbors for this, because gathering information is an element of their right to defend themselves. Therefore, we are in a situation where we understand the activity of intelligence services from whatever side, but where we are assessing it and are taking care to ensure that it does not exceed a tolerable limit and endanger our state's security," said Jan Duchek, director of the Military Defense Intelligence Headquarters (VOZ), to our newspaper yesterday.

The bill on the VOZ should undergo a final review in the Federal Government Legislative Council this week. Federal Assembly deputies should debate it before the end of the year. Jan Duchek responded to several questions on this topic:

[Rod] How keenly do you feel the absence of a law that would give you both authority and certainty?

[Duchek] The nonexistence of the law virtually brings us to a halt in the middle of our work. For example, our hands are tied in the final verification of certain information. We have been operating since 1 February 1991 on the basis of an order from the defense minister; nevertheless, so far we have not made use of our intelligence equipment and technology.

[Rod] What kind of activity does the bill assign to your office?

[Duchek] The bill, in essence, adheres to the law on the Federal Security and Information Service [FIS], but—to a certain extent—it gives precedence to specific Army features. The limits of the Defense Ministry's authority provide a framework for our activity, and our jurisdiction stops at information. We will have no right to take repressive measures.

[Rod] What will be the focus of the secret service's interest?

[Duchek] We should be a kind of information service that will submit qualified information enabling the Supreme Command to make decisions. First and foremost, we will concentrate on protecting state secrecy within the Army and on protecting the Czechoslovak Army from the activities of foreign intelligence services.

[Rod] Will you have your own agency, and will you keep records?

[Duchek] It would be premature to talk about this. However, in no way will we dust off the State Security's old regulations.

[Rod] Do you envisage that you will have your own intelligence technology and a section for monitoring people?

[Duchek] We will utilize these resources in cooperation with the FIS.

[Rod] Are you considering wider foreign cooperation?

[Duchek] This is rather problematic for specially oriented services. Moreover, such ties between two countries could be misinterpreted by a third state.

[Rod] Does the bill envisage any kind of supervision?

[Duchek] The bill proceeds from the fact that the inspector general of the CSFR Armed Forces—as a legislative body—should exercise supervision over the VOZ.

SFRY Bombing Protested; Planes Combat Ready

LD2910041891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0018 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 28 (TANJUG)—Hungarian warplanes stationed along the border on Yugoslavia are in a state of combat preparedness now and ordered to open fire "in case of noticing any attack whatsoever on Hungary," the Defence Ministry announced here this evening.

This measure was taken after a Yugoslav plane dropped a container with antitank shells over Hungary's village of Barcs last night, Col. Gyorgy Keleti, the Defence Ministry representative, told a press conference. There were between 100 and 150 shells in it some of which did not explode and, so, the authorities were compelled to evacuate people from the village, he said,

The container could not have been dropped by chance, Col. Keleti estimated, but remarked that "unclear is whether it was intended to hit the Hungarian territory."

The Yugoslav Air Force Command resolutely denied today that its warplanes had bombed the said frontier village in Hungary. On October 27, its Air Force units were in action between the town of Daruvar and the village of Suho Polje, Croatia, near the Hungarian border, but did not bomb Barcs on that occasion, the Yugoslav command added.

On the occasion of this incident Hungary's committee for defence held an emergency meeting, it was also announced this evening, on account of "unclear circumstances in which the incident took place, but no official stand has yet been taken."

Data are sill being collected and circumstances under which the incident happened are expected to be cleared out by tomorrow, Gyorgy Balog, the committee chairman, said.

The defence committee is tomorrow to hear reports from the ministers of home affairs and defence, from the chief of staff and the air force commander, it was made known.

A protest by reason of this incident was handed to Rudi Sova, Yugoslav ambassador in Budapest, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here this evening, TANJUG learned.

Radio Report From Barcs

LD2810161991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] An official statement is still being awaited. Our correspondent reports that there has been an air attack on Barcs. Csaba Belenessy reports:

[Belenessy] According to information from the mayor's office, between 2030 and 2100 hours yesterday evening, two combat aircraft that definitely were Yugoslav, appeared over Barcs, some 1.5 km from the border.

Following this, what presumably was a so-called cartridge bomb [kazettas bomba] fell onto the cemetery. It damaged the fences and knocked down several tombstones.

The housing area on Danko Street was also hit. The roof of a house was seriously damaged. Bullets showered the area; one of the shells buried itself in the floor of the kitchen of the already- mentioned house. As a result of the explosions, several windows were broken.

The highway was also hit, and a bomb reportedly also fell into the corn field adjacent to the housing area. Fortunately, none of the locals were injured.

Competent officials of the Army and the Border Guard are at the scene. Explosives' experts have closed off the cemetery, the housing area, and the adjacent corn field. They are examining whether unexploded shells remain in the area.

According to witnesses from Barcs, there was fierce shooting yesterday night around the barracks in Veroecze, or Virovitica, by its Croatian name, which is 15 km away from the border, and it is not ruled out that combat actions there spread to Hungarian territory.

Defense Ministry Briefs Media

LD2810182591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] A press briefing is now being held at the Ministry of Defense on the events in Barcs. Our correspondent Julia Szamado is at the scene:

[Szamado] The Yugoslav representative to the Hungarian-Yugoslav military mixed committee has arrived at the scene in Barcs and has taken cognizance of the results of the investigations. The traces of 100-150 explosive devices were discovered in a stretch 500 meters long at a depth of 300 meters in Hungarian territory. These devices had a (?10)-centimeter diameter, and they scarred the land to a depth of 50-70 centimeters. To date, 18 unexploded shells have been found. Military, Army, and explosives experts are working on defusing these warheads, since they self-destruct within 24 hours.

The town's mayor has evacuated the people who live in the area. The Yugoslav military attache was summoned to the Ministry of Defense, and today the Foreign Ministry will protest by way of a note, because of the events.

So much for the press briefing for the time being. I hand you back to the studio.

Keleti Urges Security Measures

LD2810221791 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Excerpts] There is still great panic in Barcs near the Yugoslav border where, according to all signs, bombs dropped by a Yugoslav aircraft exploded last night.

Luckily, nobody was injured. Material damage is estimated at several hundred thousand forints. [passage omitted]

Our guest in the studio is Defense Ministry Spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti. I believe this is the first time you have seen these pictures. What is your opinion about the news?

[Keleti] It is absolutely shocking. However much we said and felt about there being a civil war in the direct vicinity of our borders, the fact that Hungarian territory would suffer such a serious attack... so far this has not happened. I believe the 18 airspace violations that have taken place in Hungary since 28 June, 13 of which involved overflights by military fighter planes—altogether 22 of them—[as heard] and helicopters and sports planes, these airspace violations did not reach this degree of brutality. I believe the action we have taken so far was effective, and in my view the Hungarian defense establishment has to consider what kind of further preventive measures it will have to take so that the security of our republic can be fully guaranteed.

[Correspondent] A cartridge bomb was mentioned in the news. What is a cartridge bomb?

[Keleti] The news did, in fact, say a cartridge bomb; however, the investigation established this afternoon that this was not the case. A large number of shells with a cumulative charge were released from this aircraft. This means that a large number of shells were placed next to each other in a container; the pilot releases these from below the aircraft with compressed air. He the leaves the area, and the explosions take place after his departure. Let me add that these cumulative charges are primarily suitable for attacks against concrete fortifications. It is appalling that, even if he made a great mistake like this, this Yugoslav pilot deployed these tools against a Hungarian settlement, against houses.

[Correspondent] How can we calm down the population along the border?

[Keleti] Fear has, in fact, developed among the people. This fear is justified because the events taking place on Yugoslav territory are now endangering us to a great extent as well. I believe there is only one solution—that is, that this bloody civil war has to be stopped. They have to sit down at the negotiating table as the sides currently engaged in fighting can only achieve their goals by way of negotiation. If they did this, Hungary's security would be a lot greater as well, for no such air activity by the Yugoslav Army would take place. There would be no chance for mistakes, and this would serve the security of the Hungarian population to a great extent.

Border Troops Reinforced

LD2910131191 Budapest MTI in English 1037 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 29 (MTI)—The site where the dropped shells from a Yugoslav fighter plane landed at Barcs, Hungary near the Yugoslav border Sunday evening was visited today by military attaches accredited to Budapest.

No unusual development was reported to occur at the Hungarian-Yugoslav border overnight, Hungarian Border Guard Spokesman Janos Zubek told MTI today.

However, the Hungarian Border Guard has reinforced its troops at Barcs, Zubek said.

Assembly Deputies Protest

LD2910131591 Budapest MTI in English 1222 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 29 (MTI)—Voices were raised in parliament today protesting that MPs were not promptly informed of the Yugoslav aircraft's Sunday bombing of Barcs, near the Yugoslav border.

"Lack of information seriously hinder MP's work," faction leader of the opposition Alliance of Free Democrats Ivan Peto said in an unscheduled address to Interior Minister Peter Baross at parliament's session today.

The undisclosed information was why the parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee conducted talks with Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic on Monday oblivious to the Sunday incident.

Replying, Baross said it would have been a mistake to release unconfirmed information. He listed the measures implemented to clarify the matter.

Peto refused to accept the minister's explanation, saying what he missed was not details but simply knowledge of the event. He also asked for an end to such practices and an investigation into the matter.

Results of Talks With Serbia's Jovanovic Viewed

LD2810193191 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic held talks today in Hungary. According to the program, he met Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in the morning. Then he was received in the National Assembly's Nandorfehervar Hall by President Arpad Goncz.

According to observers, the talks between the Hungarian and Serbian foreign ministers did not have tangible results.

Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said that the supreme commander of the Yugoslav People's Army is the Yugoslav State Presidency, and thus it has to accept responsibility for all of the Army's actions. He also said that Dubrovnik is being attacked primarily because, in their view, the city is in the possession of extremist Croatian Ustashas, and the Federal Army would like primarily to liberate the barracks in the area.

Regarding the Magyar nationality, Jovanovic said: Unfortunately, those of Magyar nationality must bear the harm caused by the war to the same extent as the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

We questioned Foreign Affairs Spokesman Janos Herman about the border-incident in Barcs yesterday evening:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] What is the Foreign Ministry doing?

[Herman] It decided this afternoon that the foreign minister would summon the Yugoslav ambassador in Budapest to his office and hand over a protest note to him. [end recording]

Jovanovic Comments on Talks

LD2810173791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, Oct 28 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Vladislav Jovanovic today said, following talks with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, that readiness exists on both sides for relations to return to the level prior to the outbreak of the Yugoslav crisis.

"The prerequisite is the establishment of peace in Yugoslavia", Jovanovic added, underscoring that the dialogue with his host Jeszenszky was "open and informative" and that they discussed "all forms of bilateral relations."

According to Jovanovic, expectations were also expressed in the talks that "in future the press in both Serbia and Hungary will contribute to creating a better picture of the two neighbors and not the psychosis of distrust and even hatred."

"Some questions, such as for example regulating border traffic and eliminating hold-ups at the border crossings will soon be overcome, probably in the next few days," Jovanovic announced.

According to a Hungarian Foreign Ministry spokesman, the major result of the talks of the two ministers was that all controversial issues were brought out, including "the most sensitive ones."

"Hungary is primarily interested in how Serbia views bilateral relations and ways for resolving the Yugoslav crisis," the Hungarian spokesman underscored.

Responds to Concern Over Draft

LD2810215391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] The Serbian foreign minister has repeated the accusations that several states, including Hungary, are intervening in the conflict in Yugoslavia. Vladislav Jovanovic, at a press briefing following his talks in Budapest, spoke about this. He considered the concern of the Hungarian Government, that the draft of the Magyars of Vojvodina greatly exceeded their ethnic proportion, to be a misunderstanding and exaggeration. At his discussion with Geza Jeszenszky, the Serbian politician contended that the Magyardom in the province had more rights than the minorities living in the surrounding countries anyway.

The Hungarian foreign minister urged that the operation of the Adria crude oil pipeline be guaranteed. According to the Serbian reply, this comes under the jurisdiction of the Federal bodies. Jovanovic considered the hitting of Barcs by shells on Sunday to be by chance, and he stated: Serbia does not expect a military action launched from Hungary.

Views Prospects For War's End

LD2910042491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0051 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 28 (TANJUG)—Prospects for an end to civil war in Yugoslavia are better at present than they were several weeks ago as Croatia's president, Franjo Tudjman, has understood that the conflict does not pay and is unwinnable, Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbia's minister of foreign affairs, said today.

At the close of his visit to Hungary today, Minister Jovanovic voiced hope at the press conference that, once the conflict in Yugoslavia is over, relations between Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia and Hungary would make much progress for, he emphasized, our joint consciousness of the need to live as good neighbours makes us think so.

During his visit, Minister Jovanovic said, he had talks with Hungarian diplomacy chief Geza Jeszenszky and President Arpad Goncz on bilateral cooperation and outlooks for a peaceful settlement of the crisis in Yugoslavia.

Asked about proofs beyond dispute he mentioned in relation to Hungary's involvement in the armed conflict in Yugoslavia, Jovanovic replied that the Yugoslav Federal bodies have them and he is going to present them to the Hungarian side. Serbia's public has gained the impression of Hungary's being one-sidedly informed about Serbia's policy and the Serbian population's seekings in Croatia.

In Jovanovic's estimate, the ethnic Hungarian minority position in Serbia is better than in any other country.

Jeszenszky Views Ties With Serbia, SFRY Crisis

AU2810194191 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Oszkar Fuzes; place and date not given: "Serbian Foreign Minister To Visit Budapest"]

[Text] In his interview with NEPSZABADSAG, Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky stressed that Budapest supports peace as far as the Yugoslav conflict is concerned, and that he is convinced that Hungarian-Serbian relations should be developed. Upon Jeszenszky's invitation, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic will be visiting Budapest on 27 October:

[Jeszenszky] The invitation dates back to this summer's Hexagonale summit in Dubrovnik. There was still peace there then, and it was hard for anyone to imagine that war could spread to Dubrovnik. We could see Croatian flags on the houses there—perhaps Dubrovnik is under attack now because they want to break off those flags? The representatives of Yugoslavia's republics were present at the summit, and Jovanovic's predecessor and I agreed on a Budapest meeting. Hungarian officials have been meeting with the representatives of the republics for a long time now, but we have not had any meetings recently with the Serbian Government. We need such meetings because there have been many statements in the Belgrade press that go against the century of good relations between our two peoples. We have to continue to coexist as good neighbors and friends. That is what we are trying to do now, and perhaps the Serbian people will begin to see this.

[Fuzes] Serbia was very offended by the unofficial Hungarian report on the Yugoslav situation.

[Jeszenszky] That was the kind of report often published in similar cases. Many of its points are not even our own, but rather the opinions of experts from other countries, opinions now accepted by international public opinion. I do not know why Serbia or Yugoslavia should be offended by it. Why should they react to it at all?

[Fuzes] Serbia claims that Budapest is no longer even hiding its efforts to rearrange borders and reclaim Vojvodina.

[Jeszenszky] If such accusations were not tragic and dangerous, one could simply say they were ridiculous. Anyone who can read and who follows what we are doing can see that Hungary's only aim is to promote peace at all costs. We are trying to establish the best possible relations with all our neighbors, including the Serbs.

[Fuzes] Hungarians in Vojvodina are under considerable threat because of the call-ups, forced resettlement in and out of Vojvodina, and the incitement of anti-Hungarian sentiments. Will you mention this to your guest?

[Jeszenszky] Of course. That is our duty. However, it is not the Hungarian Government demanding the right to speak on issues affecting national minorities, but the minorities themselves. We identify with this. The elements you just mentioned are sad facts. The Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians is conducting intelligent politics in a difficult situation. Nonetheless, we are also interested in the issue of Serbs in Croatia.

[Fuzes] Given the present circumstances, is there any vague or concrete idea of how to develop Hungarian-Serbian relations?

[Jeszenszky] On the basis of our interdependence and historical relations, this is very important for both of us, also from an economic point of view. Serbia's communication channels with Western Europe literally pass through Hungary. I am convinced that Hungarian-Serbian relations will be positive fairly soon. There are not really any Serbian-Hungarian divergences to speak of now. The problem lies with the anti-Hungarian stance of most of the Serbian press. At the same time, one can see that the Hungarian press is not inciting any kind of hatred against the Serbian community.

[Fuzes] So you are confident that the upcoming talks will improve the situation?

[Jeszenszky] One always needs to believe in negotiations—the Middle East is enough of an example. Fortunately, Hungarian-Serbian relations are not that bad. Naturally, it is important for the talks to bring some kind of result. We do not even know enough about the various viewpoints yet. I would like to receive an answer to many of my questions, and I am prepared to answer any Serbian questions too, of course.

[Fuzes] A related question: In practical terms, Slovenia became independent on 25 October. What are the chances of Hungary recognizing the sovereignty of Slovenia, Croatia, and perhaps all the other Yugoslav federated republics?

[Jeszenszky] We will coordinate this with the EC policy, not because we want to curtail our independence but because we want our policy to be in line with Europe on this issue. That is the case at the moment, and it will be the case for the steps that follow. Everyone can see that the steps taken so far have proven insufficient, so we will have to think of more steps.

[Fuzes] Are you referring to a possible embargo on Serbia?

[Jeszenszky] It is not my duty to speak on behalf of the EC. I hope that if the Serbian people, the government, and the opposition face up to the fact that most of Europe is opposed to Serbia's policy—in other words, that it supports peace and negotiations and condemns the rearranging of borders—then we will find ways to put an end to this conflict.

Democratic Union Estimated Winner in 34 Districts

LD2910095991 Warsaw PAP in English 0857 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 29—In 34 electoral districts, excluding Warsaw, Gdansk, and Olsztyn, the Democratic Union won the biggest number of votes (12.22 percent) according to estimates made after 34 electoral commissions ended their work late last night.

Next placed:

Party	Percent
The Democratic Left Alliance	12.14
The Polish Peasant Party—Democratic Alliance	9.14
The Catholic Electoral Action	9.0
The Centre Alliance	8.46
The Confederation for Independent Poland	8.05
The Liberal-Democratic Congress	6.53
The Peasant Alliance	5.67
Solidarity	4.58
The Polish Party of Friends of Beer	3.03

In 34 electoral districts the Democratic Left Alliance (post-communists) won 45 mandates in the future Parliament, the Democratic Union—44, the Polish Peasant Party—Programmatic Alliance and the Catholic Electoral Action—38 each, the Confederation for Independent Poland—35, the Centre Alliance—33, the Liberal-Democratic Congress—24, the Peasant Alliance—22, Solidarity—19, the Polish Party of Friends of Beer—10, German Minority—6, Christian Democracy—5, the Party of Christian Democrats and the Polish Western Union—4 each, the Solidarity of Labour—3, the Union of Real Politics—2, the Party "X"—2, the Movement for Autonomy of Silesia—2.

The election turnout reached 42.4 percent in those districts. 5.8 per cent of cast votes were invalid.

Democratic Union Spokesman on Election Results

AU2910104491 Vienna AZ in German 29 Oct 91 p 7

[Interview with Democratic Union Spokesman Piotr Nowina-Konopka by Barbara Hoheneder; place and date not given: "A Very Difficult Process"]

[Text] [Hoheneder] Your party is the strongest power in the Sejm, with only 13 percent of the votes. Has Poland become ungovernable because of this election result?

[Nowina-Konopka] It will be a very difficult process to form a government coalition. But the Democratic Union is going to start this process and turn to all parties that come from Solidarity.

In addition, there is a broad range of smaller parties, such as the Liberal Congress, with whom we have to negotiate. Altogether, we have more than 50 percent. We must include all parties that are democratic and oriented toward a market economy.

[Hoheneder] Is there not a danger that President Lech Walesa might take advantage of the weakness of the Polish Parliament and present himself as the authoritarian alternative?

[Nowina-Konopka] There is no real basis for this fear. Lech Walesa must now exercise his function as president and entrust someone with forming a government.

[Hoheneder] Walesa is not considered to be a particular friend of ex-Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Before the elections, he came out in favor of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

[Nowina-Konopka] The leadership of our party has decided to propose Mazowiecki. This decision must be approved by a party congress on 3 November. However, it depends on Walesa whether Mazowiecki will indeed be entrusted with forming a government.

[Hoheneder] The former communists, the Alliance of the Democratic Left, have become the second strongest party. Is this success a sign of the lack of prospects for many Poles?

[Nowina-Konopka] This has nothing at all to do with this. There was a massive campaign. People were told that there was a plan to indict all members of the communist party. The people were threatened, and many took this propaganda seriously.

Parties Begin Talks on Forming Coalition

LD2810223691 Warsaw PAP in English 2158 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 28—Parties which have won majority of votes (according to results available so far) are already holding talks with the view to forming a coalition.

The leading Democratic Union and the Liberal-Democratic Congress are ready to join a coalition of post-Solidarity parties which Liberal Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki estimates as "difficult but possible."

Democratic Union's Secretary-General Piotr Nowina-Konopka believes that such a coalition may include the Catholic Electoral Action (WAK) and even the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN), the latter describing itself as a pre-Solidarity party. Nowina-Konopka also said that the prospective coalition should

not include political forces which reject the democratic and market- oriented economic changes initiated in Poland two years ago.

The Citizens' Centre Alliance (POC) will accept a coalition whose programme includes de-communization, an anti-recession programme, and rejection of attacks against the Catholic Church, POC representative Marcin Przydylowicz said. The POC has issued a declaration on Monday to say that it will support a government of "experts and persons of public confidence" because, the declaration explains, the electorate demonstrated its desire for changes.

Leader of the post-communist Democratic Left Alliance Wlodzimierz Ciemoszewicz excluded the possibility of becoming the prime minister despite his party's second-highest position in Sunday's election. "This is not the right time. The left does not have sufficient popular support in Poland," Ciemoszewicz told PAP. He indicated a number of convergent views with the Peasant Party (PSL) whose representative Roman Jagielinski pointed out that the PSL may join a coalition of parties representing the working people, the Solidarity line, and Christian Democracy but not the far left groupings.

Walesa Views Mistakes, Problems of Reform

LD2810141391 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by correspondent Andrzej Zielenski—place and date not given; recorded]

[Text] [Walesa] Many mistakes have been made, but it appears more and more obvious how hard the reforms are, how many tasks are ahead of us. The problem now only amounts to the fact that we have great democracy, but we have this missing element, that is, Parliament. But if Parliament will give implementation possibilities, executive possibilities to the government and to the president, everything in Poland will develop correctly. It is precisely the execution that has to be very strong and not overdemocratized. I hope it will be so.

[Zielenski] Mr. President, from what you have said, one could conclude that there will be a chance to set up a coalition in what, after all, is a fragmented Parliament.

[Walesa] Democracy is multitudinous and here, in this parliamentary setup, that is no hindrance. But will this democracy allow the government and the president to carry out what is most important for Poland? If it will, then although these quarrels, discussions, and choices inside Parliament are important, they will not interfere in the effectiveness of the implementation of plans.

[Zielenski] Do you think there is a chance to think about a coalition of post-Solidarity groups?

[Walesa] There are many possibilities here. I know just one thing, that if the government and the president will speak to this society as it is, then Parliament will have no choice but to implement that which is obvious, that is, to exclude points of political struggle and get down to economic topics as the main topics.

[Zielenski] Mr. President, before the elections you spoke of envisaging many options. What option are you planning to implement now, in this specific situation?

[Walesa] Well, we are discussing all manner of various possibilities. Those advisors, the great advisors from the days of the union, have been telling us that the winning party should provide the prime minister. And so far it looks like the winning party will be the Democratic Left. So, long live advisors, the mighty of this world.

[Zielenski] Do you not think that the success of the Left, because that is the expression we have to use, is by chance, the hand of God that is looking after the new Polish democracy that is being born?

[Walesa] I don't think you can speak of success here. After 50 years, these forces are present in Poland, and they have only just confirmed their presence. But they have not gained anything. But we have to take account of them, and we have to see them.

[Zielenski] Do you not think that in the situation that has arisen there is a risk that in six months' time it will be necessary to call new parliamentary elections?

[Walesa] There is that possibility. Nevertheless, I think that, with the good conduct of executive work, it will not be necessary.

[Zielenski] Where should one seek the reasons for such a low voter turnout?

[Walesa] In the fact that, as the main topic, we have been dabbling in the political topic of fighting for sinecures, for places, for governments, while the public have been getting worse and worse off. We have not been solving these problems. But again, it was not possible to achieve that while this most important link was missing, that is, Parliament. Today, all of this has to come to an end. We have to fight economically and only then have political successes.

[Zielenski] Observers of the political scene in Poland claim that the days of politicians are coming to an end and that the time of those politicians who think economically and socially is coming.

[Walesa] That is precisely what I have been saying and what I have been demanding for a long, long time.

[Zielenski] Thank you very much. That was a special interview by the president of the republic for the First Program of the Polish Radio.

Sejm Speaker on Conclusions From Elections

AU2910143191 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 1100 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Interview with Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz by Alfred Schwarz; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Schwarz] Mr. Kozakiewicz, the elections resulted in a great split on the Polish party scene. Only 40 percent of the Poles cast their votes. In your opinion, what are the reasons for this?

[Kozakiewicz] I think that this is a symptom of the people's desperation. The people do not have any hope for the future, and they also think that their voting participation would not play any role. That is, they are indifferent, which is very dangerous for the Parliament because it receives very little support from society.

[Schwarz] Do you think that a reasonable government can be formed on the basis of such an election result?

[Kozakiewicz] This is another question. In my opinion, one possibility is a great alliance of all post-Solidarity forces. However, this seems to be different at present. There are some people who come from Solidarity, but they are very critical of union policies. Secondly, it is possible to make a selection of other parties to gain a relative majority.

[Schwarz] The second alternative would be some kind of rightist Catholic government.

[Kozakiewicz] Well, you mention the word Catholic—there are various types of Catholicism in Poland. The Catholicism of the Democratic Union is not the same Catholicism as that of the Catholic Action. I would say that the difficulties will perhaps not be smaller there than in a coalition of parties that is not so clearly Catholic.

[Schwarz] Does Bielecki still have a chance to continue as prime minister?

[Kozakiewicz] Walesa said that he has a chance. We know that our president says various things, even contradictory things, within a very short period of time. He said that, at present, candidate number one is Bielecki. Mazowiecki said that he is the candidate and that the leader of the biggest party should be the prime minister. All that is unclear.

[Schwarz] Walesa deliberately pursued the split of Solidarity. He said: Poland does not need a political monopoly. We are moving toward the West and need a modern parliamentary democracy. However, the result has not exactly been as expected, that is, two or three center parties and clear, stable conditions. Do you believe that the careless abandonment of Solidarity's monopoly is regretted, in retrospect?

[Kozakiewicz] I think that Solidarity was split up, or that Solidarity split itself up. This was unavoidable. The differences between the various types of Solidarity people were too great. There were leftist, centrist, and very rightist people. This process was only [word indistinct], perhaps artificially, which is, of course, dangerous, even for Solidarity, which has to reestablish forces of its own to maneuver and to improve the quality of the party.

Democratic Left Alliance's Szarawarski Interviewed

PM2810162191 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 23 Oct 91 p 6

[Interview with Andrzej Szarawarski, joint chairman of the Democratic Left Alliance, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic Katowice Voivodship Council, and parliamentary candidate, by correspondent Tomasz Mazecki; place and date not given]

[Text] [Mazecki] Mr. Szarawarski, whose interests are represented by your group, the Democratic Left Alliance? Which organizations are grouped in it?

[Szarawarski] We protect the interests of the working people, predominantly those employed in the state-owned industry sector. The Democratic Left Alliance comprises... the trade unions grouped within the National Trade Union Alliance, Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], youth organizations, public organizations, and the Democratic Left Parliamentary Club. In other words, all those who hold social democratic ideals close to their hearts and who are against the introduction in Poland of an inhuman, ruthless model of capitalism dating from more than 100 years back.

[Mazecki] What political system for Poland do you favor?

[Szarawarski] We are in favor of a modern democratic state. The characteristics of such a state are, among other things, a democratically elected Parliament, an efficient government formed by the Parliament, and a president whose function is that of fostering conciliation among all forces in the state. Every departure from that system threatens us with dictatorship, and we are most emphatically against that.

[Mazecki] Today a growing number of political groups resort to the vocabulary of social democracy....

[Szarawarski] Almost a year ago, the Social Democrats put forward a concrete proposal for a scheme of economic transformations that constituted an alternative option to the Balcerowicz program. This proposal was passed over in silence. Today, when the government run by the Liberals has become pretty compromised in the eyes of the public, it reaches for our own arguments when attempting to secure votes in the coming election.

[Mazecki] What type of democracy do you opt for?

[Szarawarski] The normal, balanced kind. There is no democracy without the parliamentary left and right orientations. The experience of the past few years proves that the right is aiming for uncontrolled power in

Poland. After the parliamentary election, we will need a strong left orientation both in the Sejm and the Senate. It will also be needed by those political groups that place themselves on the right-hand side of the parliamentary chamber.

[Mazecki] How do you envisage the future in our region?

[Szarawarski] Unless the industry sector in the Katowice Voivodship undergoes a profound restructuring process, it is quite possible that the local landscape will come to resemble the once prosperous, but now deserted, gold-mining towns of the American West that we know from many American Westerns. Restructuring entails a change of professional qualifications and is associated with great sacrifices that must be borne by whole communities. We would need a consenting mandate from the public to carry it out.

[Mazecki] Whose votes are you hoping to secure, first and foremost, in the Katowice voivodship?

[Szarawarski] The votes of people employed in the state-owned industry sector—which is currently undergoing a "forced" privatization according to the principles of the currently obtaining ideology—the votes of those who realize what a danger it would be for themselves and their families if the right comes to power in Poland. We hope to secure votes from the retired and the disability pensioners, from the weak and the sick, who are already treated like a burdensome nuisance in society by the "elite" of the nouveaux rich, even as the latter exact the proverbial "widow's mite" from the former, pretending that this enforced tribute can save the state budget. You only need to look at the mass unemployment or at the misconceived idea of reducing old age and disability pensions and family benefits to see the unmistakable evidence of such an attitude.

[Mazecki] What kind of Poland are you proposing instead?

[Szarawarski] We want a democratic Poland with a socially oriented market economy, which has already proved correct in many highly developed West European countries. However, we are, at the same time, against a situation in which the domination of a single power over our homeland is replaced by the dictatorship of international finance. This state of affairs has already resulted in the collapse of the Polish economy, the painful consequences of which are felt by almost all of us today.

[Mazecki] What will be the most pressing challenge for you if you win a seat in Parliament?

[Szarawarski] I would do everything in my power to foster an understanding between all people of left-wing orientation, regardless of the organizational affiliation under which they entered Parliament. In addition, I would attempt to get all deputies representing Katowice Voivodship together, irrespective of their political orientation, in a joint and coordinated action in all areas of vital importance for the region, such as industrial restructuring and a reduction of the consequences of the disastrous environmental deterioration suffered by our region.

[Mazecki] Thank you for talking to us.

Walesa on Presidential Powers, Regional Issues

PM2910084691 Paris LE FIGARO in French 25 Oct 91 p 4

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Laure Mandeville in Warsaw—date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Mandeville] You stressed that the government should be headed by experts. Does that mean that you rule out former Prime Minister Mazowiecki, a Solidarity veteran whose party is in the lead in the opinion polls?

[Walesa] I do not rule him out, but I say that Mazowiecki is a politician and will continue to be a politician. I want to put an end to political struggles. Of course, those struggles will still exist, but they will not be in the forefront. It is the solution of economic problems that will provide new keys to politics. We must solve the agricultural and industrial problems.... So it is better to take people who are experienced in that. You must realize that we are in a revolutionary period. We must create and not continue to struggle. When we return to a system as stable as yours, we will be able to return to politics. Moreover, Mr. Mazowiecki has no luck. He is either too late or too early.

[Mandeville] You are a politician too.

[Walesa] But I am different. The president has to have a political role; so does Parliament. The government does not. The government executes. If everybody engages in politics, there is nobody left to do the work.

[Mandeville] Were the Polish people not misled when they were told that privatization would very quickly solve all their problems?

[Walesa] No, it is the only way. The process is painful. And yet it must rapidly be carried out. We are allowing ourselves to be manipulated too much by the West. In the West, the people make decisions very quickly, and we are taken by surprise. To be your partner on equal terms, the rules of the game must be the same in our country. I too must be able to make rapid decisions. For the time being, I am too easy a partner. Look at Warsaw; our stores are full of your goods. You would think you were in London or Paris. We, on the other hand, have great difficulty in exporting a few cattle! I do not hold it against you, because it is our communist system that is the cause of that. We must privatize to ensure that Poland acts as rapidly as you.

[Mandeville] In the rural districts, the situation is clearly worse than in the Warsaw stores....

[Walesa] That is because our organization is bad. We must change the system of ownership. I must, therefore, solve this problem and give credit to the farmers. It is they who will find markets like the West. It is they who will fill our stores.

[Mandeville] Is credit too expensive?

[Walesa] Mine is not expensive. I will give interest-free credit over 10 years.

[Mandevi le] When will you do that?

[Walesa] I have not been able to do it, because my power was too limited. It would have taken a coup d'etat. I did not want that. To build democracy, it would perhaps have been effective but very dangerous. Poland learned from Marshal Pilsudski's experience.

[Mandeville] Do you have a foreign policy toward Eastern Europe?

[Walesa] On the map of Europe, Eastern Europe looks like a vast and dangerous region. It is still in motion, seeking its place both inside and outside Europe. Power is divided among several forces. They are seizing that power, seizing nuclear weapons. Some people are trying to save the Soviet Union; others are trying to divide it completely. And all those people are seeking an outside enemy to unite them.

[Mandeville] What do you mean?

[Walesa] Enemies can be very different.... In these conditions, Polish policy must be reasonable.

[Mandeville] Do you look mainly toward the Ukraine or toward Russia?

[Walesa] Of course I look. The Moscow putsch is very recent. We must take into account the putsch and the current developments. To give you an example—I was strongly urged to visit Moscow. I was invited there at the very time of the putsch. If I had been there, what would have happened? That is what happens when you plan too much. You have to be very flexible here, very intuitive, like a cat. You have to be quick, wise, and especially not too definite. In the West, things are stable, you can draw up a long-term strategy. But that is not possible here.

[Mandeville] Does Poland plan to establish preferential relations with the Ukraine?

[Walesa] We are doing so, but in our way, which is not spectacular. I hear that the West is pleased with Yeltsin, that it is working with him. That is a good thing; it is the West's new approach. It is true that Yeltsin has accomplished a great deal and that it is, therefore, a good policy.... But if you only work with slogans, it is not enough.

[Mandeville] In the West, Yeltsin is often compared with Walesa. Two democrats, two very popular men, two men who are in favor of a strong executive. Do you like this comparison?

[Walesa] I do not want a strong executive. I want to solve the problems. If I manage to convince the people that this solution benefits democracy, I will be handed that power as a gift. To secure what I want, I am trying to make sure that I am offered it. I am not just taking it.

[Mandeville] The Poles had hoped that all the Soviet troops would leave the country in 1992. But the final settlement has not yet come about.

[Walesa] I could, of course, help them to leave by carrying their suitcases myself! But the fundamental problem must be solved: Should we kick them out? Or should we solve the problem on the basis of the real situation. Their presence is pointless and costly. Consequently, it is in the interests of the Soviet authorities to leave to avoid having to pay. Once this concept has been accepted, we still have to find out how to make them leave as quickly as possible. Looking at things closely, they will see that it is better to leave on Sunday or Monday than on Saturday. The trains are full on Saturday....

[Mandeville] Are you afraid that other regions in Europe will be contaminated by a Yugoslav-style crisis?

[Walesa] I am very worried. What is happening on a small scale in Yugoslavia could happen on a much bigger scale elsewhere. We must remember that all the national groups are entitled to freedom but that they cannot endanger the freedom of others.

[Mandeville] Will you recognize Slovenia's independence?

[Walesa] I recognize all the nations who need recognition, but not at Europe's expense. I recognize your freedom, but I will not allow you to come and live in the Belvedere presidential castle. I would be in trouble with my wife. Your freedom would threaten her.... Looking at old maps of Europe, it is possible to cast doubt on everything. I like looking at maps. But that does not go together with economic development. The old remedies, those which we no longer want, consisted of changing the borders. But we must now open up instead of fighting. Croatia and Serbia both want to join Europe. But will they be able to do that if they are not capable of agreeing within a kind of federation, among neighbors? [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Against Sending Troops to SFRY

LD2510162391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1301 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, October 25 (TANJUG)—Polish Defence Minister Vice-Admiral Petr Kolodziejczyk has said that the sending of armed forces to Yugoslavia was 'an absurd [idea] which any first-year cadet at the officers' school can explain.'

In an interview to today's SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily, Kolodziejczyk said that 'Yugoslav politicians have spoken out, making it clear that any foreign army ... would be treated as an aggressor.' He added that 'there are no international solutions which would sanction armed interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.'

The Polish defence minister said his stands were not contrary to those expressed by Polish President Lech Walesa because, as far as he knows, Walesa 'never expressed the wish for the setting up of forces which would go among the warring sides.'

He explained that Walesa urges the 'creation of European armed forces whose presence could pacify the warring sides when the tense situation threatened to turn into armed conflicts.' They would prevent 'the first blows because, as the sad Yugoslav experience shows, things just start happening and get out of control.'

Russia Agriculture Proposals May Be 'Breakthrough'

LD2710105391 Warsaw PAP in English 0930 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 27—Polish Agriculture Minister Adam Tanski believes Russian proposals to trade Russian raw materials for Polish foodstuffs may offer a breakthrough in Poland's trade with Russia.

"If Poland can really buy the necessary raw materials at Soviet exchanges for agricultural produce sold there, than the proposals presented to the delegation of the Polish Agriculture Ministry by Russian Agriculture Minister Gennadiy Kulik may mean a breakthrough in trade with that partner," Tanski told newsmen on Saturday night after his return to Warsaw from Moscow talks.

Russia proposed to give Poland the right to sell Polish foodstuffs at Russian exchanges and buy oil, gas and non-ferrous metals on the free market there. "We have been assured that the access to such exchanges for Polish producers and trading companies has been guaranteed in the resolutions of Russian authorities," Tanski said.

"The thing is, however, whether we can really buy what we want on the free market emerging in Russia and we must check it," he added.

Tanski also said the agreement signed in Moscow on cooperation between Polish and Russian agriculture ministries provides for Polish consulting and technological assistance in creating private farms in Russia after the breaking up of collective farms.

Nastase Assesses New Government Positively

AU2910094691 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 24 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by Corina Cretu; place and date not given: "The Internal Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"]

[Text] [Cretu] Mr. Minister, what is your opinion about the new government?

[Nastase] In my opinion, it is a hopeful sign that we managed to form a government of national opening. Unfortunately, although a proposal for such a formula has existed in the past, we were not used to tackling new things easily, each step forward being very hard for us make. Still, I hope we will emerge from this experience wiser and more dynamic, and think of ourselves more in terms of a society. In this respect, the understanding we have reached on the country's basic interests is quite encouraging. I believe that the new government has the necessary credentials, if not for ambitious projects, at least for administrative measures to deal with the simple requirements of the current period, requirements that are vital for our society and that have to do with our living standard and our domestic and external dignity. Therefore, I repeat, the new government formula may be a hopeful sign yet. The forthcoming general elections will define the Romanian electorate's directions, orientations, and electoral choices, thus marking a moment of domestic political clarification.

[Cretu] What are your thoughts now, after your reappointment as minister of foreign affairs?

[Nastase] I can only express my desire to work. I also include here the readiness to make sacrifices, as part of the ministerial job. I can give my best in terms of work and competence. The French have a saying: "A woman, no matter how beautiful she may be, can only give what she has." Therefore, it is very hard for me to add anything to what I have just said—namely, that I will try, as I have done so far, to do my duty. This may sound a little obsolete, but I believe we should relearn certain words that really embody the essential relationship between us and society.

[Cretu] How do you interpret the fact that you were retained on the governmental team?

[Nastase] I would rather you interpret that decision. I can only say that there is an objective aspect here, connected with the need for continuity in foreign policy. It became obvious that, given the fact that this government will last for only one season, it would be very difficult for the contacts established at the foreign minister level with many figures abroad to be naturally reknotted in such a short time—in view of the fact that personal contacts are one of the modern components of international diplomacy. Hence, I believe that it was taken into account that there is a need for continuity in foreign policy and for maintenance of a certain formula that avoids the creation of a communications vacuum at an extremely important time.

Secares Comments on 'Confrontations' Within FSN

AU2810190491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1718 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 28/10/1991—The National Salvation Front [FSN] has entered a very uncomfortable period of debates, clarifications and confrontations as regards its orientation, future and, first of all, the bases of its future action, Vasile Secares, deputy chairman of the FSN Steering Committee, said in an interview with the daily "CURIERUL ROMANESC."

The Front has at present a reformist wing that has drawn up an outlook as regards the changes ongoing in the Romanian society, an outlook that has gradually taken form after the revolution, added Mr. Secares. Bucharest's FSN convention, the FSN national convention, the events that followed them, particularly the attempt at forming a government of national opening and the last "Mineriad" halted the process of real clarification taking place in this party, and made the reformist wing be faced with other "two FSN wings, very hard to define." One is the "conservative group," that has "centralist nostalgia and is sensible to populist solutions." This group would like the decisions of the FSN national conventions to be canceled. It even referred to changes of the FSN ideological and political orientation.

The other group is "opportunist and extremely virulent," and is made up of people who think they deserve certain positions, in consequence of the capital they made during the revolution. "We were on the barricades," it's what they say, and their spokesman is Dan Iosif. It is obvious that their behaviour looks like the communist formula after the war, when, those "devoted" to the revolution, held key-positions.

Neither the conservative nor the opportunist group has a clear outlook, mentioned Mr. Secares, and that is why, the "whole confrontation is distorted," causing many confusions, in the FSN parliamentary group included.

The problem facing the front now is that of retrieving and maintaining its unity, allowing for the existence of different orientations under the same political umbrella, but set on a real political ground.

Opposition's Participation in Cabinet Viewed

AU2510100591 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Roma[illegible]n 22 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Article by Dumitru Tinu: "The Art of Winning by Losing"]

[Text] There is something positive in everything bad.... This only seems to be a paradox, because the dialectics of social life have demonstrated that sometimes what is bad may constitute the lesson necessary to change things for

the better. Was not the miners' fourth raid in Bucharest probably the bad thing that was needed to draw attention to the fact that things could not continue as they did? When the FSN-ist [National Salvation Front] power announced that it was ready for a government of broad national opening, it finally admitted that the time of the omnipotent and all-knowing "unique party" is over. Consequently, instead of acting toward an opening to other parties, laborious negotiations were initiated with the opposition political forces to seek the most suitable government formula for the given time.

First, let us recognize, therefore, the merit of the majority parties having proved wise during the Parliament voting process, thus contributing to overcoming the crisis. I would like to believe that that was not just a tactical move, but a welcome change in attitude toward the opposition. As a matter of fact, it was high time to understand that democracy is inconceivable without an opposition. For, the opposition means an alternative, and an alternative means an additional chance. Our country's serious situation requires joint efforts, so that—in continuing the reform—we are able to find solutions to the multiple problems we are facing without exceeding tolerable social costs. For the first time, the opposition was seriously taken into account. Yesterday's "betrayers of the country" have now become partners. This is a good thing. Thus, by suppressing totalitarian temptations, the FSN-ist majority has properly passed its first exam in democracy: It lost seats in the Government, but won in the area of its credibility.

The formation of Stolojan's cabinet, the first genuinely polychrome cabinet after almost 45 years, represents an equal gain for the opposition. The fact that not all parties of some importance in the political arena are part of the government is of lesser importance. However, it has to be noted that all of them have—in one way or another—expressed their support for the program of the new cabinet. The most noteworthy presence in the government, together with the FSN, is that of the National Liberal Party [PNL]. It has been said that by joining the government during such troubled times, the liberals have assumed a great risk. Maybe. There is some time to go before taking stock and, no matter what the result will be, the National Liberal Party will stay in people's minds as the party that did not hesitate to assume responsibility in the government at a time of great upheavals in Romania.

I would say that, through its significance, the merit of the PNL leaders and of their ecologist and agrarian colleagues reaches beyond the boundary of the current time. It confirms that the opposition has also passed the first important exam in democracy positively, namely from disputes without any right to appeal, to participation with its own ideas, thus placing the country's interests above party interests.

Do we finally have a constructive "opposition?" If all political parties will accept the rules of democracy, by understanding that one day each one has the chance to occupy the government seats, just like the ruling parties may any time return to those of the opposition, then problems will be solved on their own. The verdict on whether a party is constructive or destructive, good or bad, will be pronounced solely by the voters. And no party can afford to ignore the spirit of the electorate.

At the same time, forming a cabinet with a representative participation of the opposition now offers the unhoped for chance to restore Romania's credibility in the world. The dismal prophesies made by the Cassandras of the former cabinet do not seem to come true. On the contrary, there are enough signs that the West has followed with interest the changes that have taken place. The pragmatic tenor of the program presented by the new prime minister—who is also known and appreciated in the circles of international financial institutions—inspires trust abroad, something that is already noted in the "defrosting" of certain negotiations and in the announcement of vital credits, which are needed especially when we think of the approaching winter.

As I said at the beginning, the nightmare that Romania once again went through in September could prove to be the necessary lesson needed to take a decisive step toward eliminating old structures and mentalities, a step without which one cannot conceive of the reform or of establishing a state of law. This is a great chance for our country and it would be unforgivable to waste it.

Coposu on Declining Participation in Government

AU2710165591 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, by Roxana Badralexi; place and date not given: "We Will Practice Constructive Opposition To Benefit All Governments"]

[Text] [Badralexi] What are the reasons for such categorical opposition to participation in the new government?

[Coposu] Our viewpoint, which we explained to Prime Minister Stolojan, was that, to take Romania out of the deadlock and the serious economic, moral, political, and social crisis, it is necessary to form an independent government of technocrats who are accepted by all political formations. We did not see the possibility to form a national unity government.

[Badralexi] What was the outcome?

[Coposu] We are talking of a sort of government reshuffling, if we disregard the two acolyte parties of the Front [National Salvation Front]....

[Badralexi] Which ones?

[Coposu] The Agrarian Democratic Party and the Ecological Movement, which promote the Front's policy on the basis of the Charter for Democracy. Thus, what is

new in this government is the participation of the National Liberal Party [PNL], an opposition party.

[Badralexi] What about those who do not belong to any party and who are part of the government?

[Coposu] Opinions vary. In my view, the so-called independents within the government are indirect representatives of the National Salvation Front [FSN], which proposed them. From the very beginning, we accepted—without any reticence—Mr. Stolojan's independent feature, and he enjoys our full consideration, but not even he can be viewed as completely emancipated from the FSN views. This was proved during the negotiations in connection with the current government. He is under moral pressure by this political formation, which views itself as holding the majority.

[Badralexi] How was such pressure exercised during the negotiations?

[Coposu] All dialogues took place with Mr. Petre Roman, the FSN leader. Unfortunately, Mr. Stolojan did not have a free hand in forming the government but was hampered by certain conditions set by the FSN, which retained key departments.

[Badralexi] Without the Justice Department.

[Coposu] This was an attempt to achieve a compromise. In our view, the way to ensure really free and honest elections is to effectively neutralize the ministries of interior. By this I understand not only the ministry of the police but also the ministry of administration. By neutralizing them, we would be able to avoid the repetition of the way the elections took place in May 1990.

[Badralexi] However, things being what they are at this time, do you believe that the main objective—ensuring objective elections—will be accomplished?

[Coposu] We hope so. There is no certainty, and this is one of the reasons that explains our reticence. There is something else: We cannot imagine how the program of the former government will be applied when Prime Minister Stolojan himself had doubts about the stages of privatization when he was part of the former government—not to speak of the opposition parties that categorically opposed the application of the privatization program and even left the parliament session. Thus, this government cannot continue the reform because of its limited existence.

[Badralexi] Do you, however, grant a vote of confidence and success to the new government?

[Coposu] To the prime minister, yes. There is no reason to doubt his honesty....

[Badralexi] What do you understand by supporting, as you said, the new government?

[Coposu] We will support it with all our might; we will support all initiatives aimed at achieving a democratic opening and genuine privatization. We will support it in its attempts to eradicate the unequalled corruption confronting Romanian society and in its efforts to remove from their positions all those who are guilty of violations and of sabotaging the national economy. We will be at its side in all measures aimed at a gradual transition to the market economy. We will, of course, oppose any artificial measures that might jeopardize the democratization and privatization process. We will practice constructive opposition that will benefit all governments.

[Badralexi] Do you resent the fact that the National Liberal Party participates in the new government?

[Coposu] Not at all. Cooperation between the signatory parties to the Convention for the Establishment of Democracy will continue perfectly. Each party belonging to this convention preserves the characteristics of its own programs and is, certainly, free to implement its policy. I do not think that anyone is entitled to criticize the National Liberal Party for participating in the government, or imply that the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party has reasons to justify itself.

[Badralexi] However, there is another attitude—namely, the one held by Mr. Ratiu, which contradicts what you yourself have said.

[Coposu] We are a democratic party, and we cannot and do not wish to censor, in any way, what some of our party's members say. What Mr. Ratiu said is his own opinion. The official stance of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party is the one I have specified. Cooperation between the signatory parties to the convention can thus continue perfectly.

PSM Leaders on Voican-Voiculescu Accusations

AU2610153691 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 22 Oct pp 1, 4

["R.F."-signed interview with Mugurel Florescu, deputy prosecutor general, Traian Dudas, vice president, and Ilie Verdet, president of the Socialist Party of Labor; place and date not given: "The Socialist Party of Labor Present at the Prosecutor's Office"]

[Text]

The Truth Was Demanded

[R.F.] Could you explain the presence of Mr. Ilie Verdet and Mr. Traian Dudas at the Prosecutor's Office?

[Florescu] The presence of these two persons was not aimed at exculpating the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM] from Senator Voican-Voiculescu's accusations. These two persons stressed the discrepancy between those statements and the personal position about the way in which their party's political platform should be respected, stressing the fact that the activity of this political group completely excludes violence. During our talks, Mr. Verdet asked for an increase in the pace of the investigation and said that, if needed, the PSM can

supply data it possesses about the September events. Likewise, he expressed the wish that the investigation be carried out with greatest care so that the complete truth can be established and then made known to the public. This is something we will do in any event....

[R.F.] What new elements have come up in connection with Mr. Voican-Voiculescu's statements?

[Florescu] Recently, the senator made available to the Military Prosecutor's Office declarations that he had obtained from various persons in connection with his statements in Parliament. The investigation continues, and Military Prosecutor Lieutenant of Justice Dan Voinea is in charge of it.

[R.F.] Has anyone else lodged a complaint against Mr. Voican-Voiculescu?

[Florescu] We have received two complaints—from Mr. Traian Dudas and from Reserve Lieutenant General Nicolae Plesita.

An Ordinary Frame-Up

[R.F.] What can you tell us about Senator Voican-Voiculescu's accusations against you?

[Dudas] Mr. Voican-Voiculescu is a provocateur, and his scenario is an act of national provocation against the PSM, its leaders, and certain basic cadres of the party. Everything is a despicable, ordinary frame-up based on lies and calumny, which is aimed at misinforming the public.

[R.F.] What do you think made the senator act in that way?

[Dudas] Actions are aimed at eliminating the left wing, primarily the PSM, which enjoys a broad audience and great prestige among the many who are earning their living through honest work.

The PSM Is Thoroughly Patriotic

[R.F.] Do you believe that the PSM represents a political danger for certain people or parties?

[Verdet] The danger lies in the fact that the PSM declared itself a thoroughly patriotic and national party in the struggle against the use of force aimed at destabilizing the country and at increasing the economic, political, and moral crisis the country is currently facing.

Spiroiu Interviewed on Army Doctrine

AU2710145191 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 23 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu by Aurel Perva and Gavrila Inoan; place and date not given: "We Have Had Enough of Dictatorship To Need Another Military One"—Part I]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Minister, what does Romania's new defense doctrine consist of—I am referring to its essential points—and how does it differ from the former one?

[Spiroiu] Contrary to the other armies of the former socialist and communist countries, our Army benefited, so to say, not from a camp doctrine—that is, not from a military alliance doctrine—but from our own national doctrine. From this point of view, we are the only Army in Eastern and Central Europe that does not need to make essential modifications in its doctrine. Our current doctrine is a defensive one that stipulates that the country's defense should not be ensured, as was groundlessly stated, "by the entire people" but by the entire population able to participate in a military effort. However, it remains a defensive doctrine in which the size of the military body is determined by whether it is sufficient to ensure our defense and whether it is able to properly retaliate. We bear in mind all these things, even in the Army's restructuring process, which, taking account of the more than modest and almost symbolic budget we had at our disposal this year, did not permit us to take all planned steps. However, beginning on 1 January 1992, we want to accelerate this process, which is also in keeping with the program promoted by the current government team aimed at speeding up the reform, including in the military area.

[Reporter] In your view, what is the role to be played by the Army in the current political, social, and economic situation in our country?

[Spiroiu] In my view, the problem of the Army assuming a role in the country's leadership is not posed. This would be at variance with democratic principles. Therefore, on other occasions, too, I stated that there is no general, no officer, and no one else in the Army—and I can guarantee this—who fancies such ideas. It would be at odds with democracy, and I believe that we have had enough of dictatorship so as not to need another military one. It is our belief that the ministry leadership and, together with us, all Army personnel—I repeat, the Army—have to stay neutral from a political point of view and not be involved in the struggle for power. The Army has to be an element of stability and a guarantor of independence, unity, and territorial integrity, and it has to guarantee the order of law whenever the possibilities of the bodies, whose task that is, are unable to do so. At such a time, the Army has to intervene in accordance with the law and ensure the constitutional order of law and nothing more.

[Reporter] You almost were in the situation to play this role in reality. Luckily, things did not progress that far!

[Spiroiu] Yes, indeed, but I acted in accordance with the law, as I also stated in Parliament. I acted especially in the direction of deterring actions. We wanted to discourage vandalism, anarchy, and some actions bordering on terrorist action if we think of the way in which they took place. As a matter of fact, I want to tell you that a

decision did exist stipulating that ammunition should be distributed in case the integrity of the Army was threatened. However, no ammunition was distributed. It was back to storage. Only the excavator at the television studio was fired at, a total of 126 bullets—we have clear records. The situation during the revolution no longer exists. These bullets were used as warning shots to make those near the equipment withdraw so that no one would be hurt by the ricochet. Then the forsaken equipment was fired at. Actually, the day on which we made use of ammunition, no one was killed.

[Reporter] In the current extremely tense international situation, Romania needs a credible military force. What do you propose to do to strengthen our country's defense capability and to create a modern military force?

[Spiroiu] First, we want to implement our combat-preparedness programs. That was accomplished this year, and we succeeded in doing this like never ever before. This is a very positive thing. We carried out instruction and exercises. Due to the openness the Army continues to promote, these exercises—firing and tactical exercises—were publicized each time. Such are the measures for the Army to return to its natural tasks and specific training activity that has to be carried out in times of peace. I would like to say that the affirmations that military personnel were seen carrying out various activities have an explanation. You should know that the military personnel carrying out those activities belong to the military constructors. We have a road-building brigade and a railroad brigade that really and truly work. I know that certain papers have published information about them. These military men fulfill the same mission in times of war because they are road builders, and it is only natural in times of peace to drill them in road construction.

[Reporter] Although this would smack of what happened before, the public would greet the Army's involvement in finishing the construction of housing that stopped such a long time ago.

[Spiroiu] There are a few apartment houses where military personnel are working. They are construction projects the Army has taken over for its own personnel; it is housing on which military men are working. This—I want to repeat—is explained by the fact that we have a road-building brigade, a railroad brigade, and military construction sectors. They are military construction crews building barracks and other facilities that are needed. Every army has such crews. The Americans sent special corps to Kuwait to look after such needs. This is what we have, too, and what all modern armies have. Returning to your former question, I want to specify that this was the first measure: returning to the Army's natural activity in times of peace—namely, to train it so that it is able to fulfill its mission.

Second, we have in mind relaunching the national combat industry—of course, on a smaller scale and volume of activity—by adapting a certain part of this industry for civilian production. It is necessary to relaunch this production because, under the current conditions, we do not have the necessary hard currency to import weapons and technology to be able to make use of much more modern technology than before the revolution. Given the greater access we have now, we want to modernize our technology and even relaunch the programs for manufacturing certain categories of military equipment. I am referring especially to armored vehicles and aviation. At the same time, we want to earmark part of our funds for modern transmission equipment, radar, and antitank defense equipment, and, in general, for defensive systems to strengthen our Army's equipment from this point of view.

International

EC Sets 5 Nov Deadline for Serbian Decision

LD2810164891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Brussels, Oct 28 (TANJUG)—The European Community (EC) foreign ministers, TANJUG's correspondent learns, did not make a decision today about the imposing of sanctions on the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia. Instead, they gave Serbia a deadline by November 5 to make clear whether it would take part "in the process of resolving Yugoslavia's crisis within the Hague conference."

A demand to Serbia to clarify its stand "more precisely" was explained among EC circles by this Yugoslav republic's having made biggest remarks to the EC document on Yugoslavia's political future. Of the six present republican leaders of Yugoslavia, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic alone has not signed the Hague document. He had assessed the document as an illegitimate attempt at annulling Yugoslavia.

TANJUG's correspondent learns from Dutch delegation circles that the twelve, at their ministerial council meeting in Brussels today, considered the possibility of imposing sanctions on Yugoslavia, but no decision has been made to this effect. Instead, the meeting decided that still another top-level session of the conference on Yugoslavia would be called in The Hague, most likely on November 5.

EC, UN Sanctions Possible

LD2810232691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2230 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Brussels, October 28 (TANJUG)—The foreign ministers of the European Community countries today sent an ultimatum to the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia to, as said, accept the basic principles of the document on the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis by November 5, pointing out that, if Serbia refused, the peace process would continue with five Yugoslav republics.

A statement issued after the session says that the sides which fail to cooperate can expect the implementation of restrictive measures against them by the European Community and its member-countries. If the conference on Yugoslavia is to be successful, then the basic principles have to be accepted by all sides, which means that Serbia's restraint must be eliminated, it was said in the statement.

According to the statement, the Hague conference will continue work if Serbia withdraws its reservations at the next plenary session. If it does not, the conference will try to find a political solution with those republics which are willing to cooperate.

The statement said that for the EC the basic principles are imperative if a general and peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis is to be found, particularly those pertaining to unilateral changes of borders, protection of human rights as well as the rights of ethnic and national groups. According to the statement, the EC will, besides introducing its own sanctions, call on the UN Security Council also to impose sanctions against the republics unwilling to cooperate. As learned, the sanctions would primarily relate to oil deliveries.

The EC ministers were shocked with the persistent violations of basic principles of the proposed Hague document and pointed out Serbia's stand at the conference and the "state coup" carried out by four members of the Federal state Presidency and their unveiling of the plan for the creation of a Greater Serbia, as set out.

It was announced that the EC ministers will discuss the sanctions at their regular session in Brussels on November 4. The chairman of the EC Ministerial Council, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, told a news conference that the EC ministers will decide on the introduction of sanctions against Yugoslavia in Rome on November 7 depending on the results of the plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague on November 5.

The EC Commissioner for the Mediterranean, Abel Matutes, explained that the EC would suspend its agreement with Yugoslvia on trade and cooperation. Then, it could renew it and offer greater or lesser trade facilities to some republics.

After a remark by journalists that six months were necessary to suspend the agreement, Matutes specified that it could be done if circumstances were such that its provisions could not be implemented.

Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis tried to explain that the sanctions, if implemented, should not be seen as retaliation but as a goal to keep both sides at the negotiating table. He said a good solution could not be arrived at without Serbia's participation, adding that it had now been cornered. French Foreign Minsiter Roland Dumas saw today's statement primarily as "pressure on Serbia." We do not intend to isloate Serbia with this, we want to continue cooperating with it, Dumas said.

It was said that the coordinator of the Hague conference, Ambassador Henri Wijnaendts, would leave for Yugoslavia this week to, for the last time, try to iron out the existing differences with all the factors that count.

Bulatovic-Milosevic Rift at Hague Viewed

AU2810201891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Jagos Stojanovic report from Titograd; from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] The principled support that Momir Bulatovic, in contrast to Slobodan Milosevic, gave for the first version of The Hague document, aroused such protests, fury,

insults, or political storms here as no other recent international or domestic political event. The situation did not quiet down throughout the republic from Friday 18 October to last Thursday evening when the rostrum of the emergency session of the Montenegrin parliament was simply afire with condemnation and support for the Montenegrin compromise in The Hague and the conflict, so to speak, between Montenegro and Serbia.

Expressions like treason, break-up, abandonment of the election program, and anti-Serbianism were an integral part of the criticism aimed at the Montenegrin leader. Bulatovic said from the speaker's rostrum in the Assembly: I do not accept the notion that what happened in reference to The Hague means a destruction of one of the foundations of Serbianism. However, a part of the public has understood it in that sense. Bulatovic added that he did not accept or reject Carrington's mediation, and he pointed out three of his positions at the first Hague summit—safety for Serbs in Croatia, a resolution of the Serbian question in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and a demarcation line with the Croats at Prevlaka. That means that two out of his three preoccupations at the 18 October summit in The Hague were linked with Serbianism, and in this respect he is equal to Milosevic.

However, one gets the impression that there exists a certain difference between the two most influential personalities in both republics regarding the military option. There is a feeling in Montenegro that its patriotism could be abused. Bulatovic mentioned for instance, the desertion of some Serbian conscripts resulting in poor artillery coverage of one infantry unit from sniper fire, which had grave consequences.

The high point of differences regarding the military option, even though it could be said that they existed rather with the General Staff than with Serbia, is the appeal by the Montenegrin Presidency that two units of reservists and volunteers from Titograd and Danilovgrad return from the Slovene and other northern battlefields, especially from Vukovar. However, they answered: We do not want to go home, but fight. The Titograd Military Corps Command helped to calm fears of the abuse of Montenegrin patriotism and the [word indistinct] that 3,000 Serbian soldiers are in the units here and protect the borders and interests of Montenegro up to Dubrovnik. This is twice the number of units from Montenegro that have been sent to the northern fronts.

The people themselves have shown in the last two days that they do not need to be saved from the battle for Yugoslavia and the common cause. Just last night, over 1,000 volunteers from nine Montenegrin communes arrived in Titograd. Forming a huge brigade, they have offered, under the command of a professional officer, as we would say, their heads and weapons where necessary. At present we can hear on the radio that 400 volunteers are waiting in Cetinje for a call up and deployment.

In The Hague, Yugoslavia has not been mentioned as a reality, a state, and a future, and the people have raised their voices, considering Milosevic's actions to be justified. This storm in Montenegro has not been in the proverbial tea cup. On the contrary, the Assembly has decided to extend the mandate of The Hague delegation [words indistinct] to above all protect the interests of the citizens of Montenegro because they have the last word and in this way the idea of both Serbianism and Yugoslavism is rooted so deeply here. [sentence as heard] Therefore, on this occasion, the referendum and the Belgrade Declaration were submitted for further discussion.

Economist Questions Hague Plan for Customs Union

LD2910080991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1522 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 28 (TANJUG)—The section of The Hague document on Yugoslavia's future which deals with a customs union, a single market, and a multilateral clearing-account system has caused uncertainties amongst economists in Yugoslavia.

Professor Oskar Kovac, Serbia's chief delegate on The Hague conference's economic committee, is quoted by the Belgrade VREME weekly as saying that a similar model of the customs union had allowed the country's better developed areas to exploit its less developed parts. This model had also its institution called the fund for the less developed sections of the country, in fact an instrument to minimize this exploitation, but no such institution was now foreseen in the new Hague document.

The Belgrade EKSPRES POLITIKA daily, in quoting certain economists, asserts today that the customs union of the type now offered to Yugoslavia represented a model long outdated in Europe.

Economists in Serbia and Montenegro, as the daily writes, hold that a single market model, contained in The Hague declaration, also favours the relatively industrialized Republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

Those are many in Yugoslavia who regard that the offered monetary clearing account model is unacceptable because, as they explain, it cannot be imagined how it will be able to operate at all. They maintain that this mode of payments can function only between any two partners and that anything like a "sixfold contract" has been unknown in practice so far.

Economists in Serbia and Montenegro, now joined also by their colleagues from Macedonia, insist on the formation of a market that would at least approximate the one that the European Economic Community is planning for itself by the end of 1992, writes the Belgrade daily.

Air Force Command Denies Bombing Hungarian Town

LD2810215491 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] At the request of the Hungarian Radio, this evening an official of the Yugoslav Defense Ministry read out a statement of the Yugoslav Air Force Command in which it reacted to the Hungarian Defense Ministry spokesman's statement.

[Begin Air Force official recording in Serbo-Croatian, fading into Hungarian translation] The information service of the Yugoslav Air force has been authorized to pulish the following statement: The Yugoslav Air Force carried out combat action in the area of Daruvar and Suhopolje at 2030 and 2230 on 27 October. The commander of the Air Force firmly rejects the statement of the spokesman of the Hungarian Ministry of Defense according to which the aircraft bombed Barcs. [end recording]

Vojvodina Hungarians Favor Good Bilateral Ties

LD2710150391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1255 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Novi Sad, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's largest-circulation Hungarian-language MAGYAR SZO daily writes today that an aggravation over recent months in bilateral relations between the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and Hungary is not at all favoured by Hungarians living in the northern Serbian Province of Vojvodina.

"We (Hungarians) would be initial victims in every respect, as a conflagration of hatred would burn us down first," assesses MAGYAR SZO and welcomes today's dialogue between Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and his Hungarian host counterpart Geza Jeszenszky. The daily points out that both sides should be concerned about improvements in their relations.

"Belgrade's path towards Europe is the shortest, if not the only one, right via Budapest, while Hungary, although openly cheering Slovenia's and Croatia's solutions concerning the settlement of Yugoslavia's crisis, must take an account also of such a policy's effects on the Vojvodina Hungarians," writes the daily.

In Vojvodina, which borders with Hungary, there are some 400,000 Hungarians who enjoy all national minority rights.

"Budapest would have to state it clearly that it does not have any territorial claims on its neighbours, because an overwhelming majority of Hungarians do not even think of the possibility of change of borders," MAGYAR SZO writes in the end.

German Intelligence-Croatia 'Network' in Bosnia

LD2810192691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1848 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 28 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes today that the German intelligence service (BND) and the ruling party in the Republic of Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), have developed an intelligence network in Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to control events and broaden the influence of the Catholic Church in this republic.

Citing reliable sources, VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes that Croatian President and HDZ leader Frano Tudjman during a June 1989 trip to Germany met with Ernst Bauer of the BND, the former Ustasha head of intelligence, and that during their frequent meetings they discussed the destabilization of Bosnia.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI claims that Bauer entrusted Tudjman with the task of extending the HDZ's influence to Muslims in Bosnia, the setting up of contacts with the Albanian alternative in the Serbian autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija, and with infiltrating several members of the extremist Ustasha organization—the Croatian State-Building Movement (HDP) into the government.

"In order to strengthen its position in Bosnia, the BND gave Tudjman one of its liaison officers—Nurif Rizvanovic (in September last year) and then sent Adil Smanovic-Taran to check up on him," writes the daily. VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes that Taran is a Muslim who has converted to the Catholic faith and a double agent of the BND and the service for the protection of the constitutionality of Croatia.

Rizvamovic and Taran took money from rich Muslims in order to buy arms, and were helped by parliament of Bosnia-Herzegovina member Haris Redjic.

VECERNJE NOVOSTI writes that there was a showdown between Rizvanovic and Taran over embezzled money. Rizvanovic and Redjic went to their different ways as members of different currents of the ruling party in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Muslim Party of Democratic Action. The HDZ favoured Rizvanovic, who in order to prove his trustworthiness, is organizing the arrival of Irishmen and their joining of the Croatian paramilitary national guard, writes VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

Federal

Kostic Explains Army's Role in Dubrovnik, EC Stance

AU2910121391 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 29 Oct 91 p 2

[Interview with Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY State Presidency, by Marian Srjenc; place and date not given: "Peace Does Not Fit Into Tudjman's Plan"]

[Text] [Srjenc] The Federal Army pretends that it is protecting Serbia, your army is even "protecting" areas where there are no Serbs—for example, Zadar and Dubrovnik. Is it not true that Serbia only needs access to the sea?

[Kostic] Our Army is only where our barracks are endangered. Ten armistices did not lift the continued blockade of five barracks. There are about 15,000 people, soldiers with their relatives, living like hostages in the barracks. The Army will not make any compromises and will intervene with all available means, even violence.

[Srjenc] You, as the de facto president, are also the commander-in-chief of the Army?

[Kostic] No. The State Presidency works as the collective head of state. The state president has only one voice among the equal voices of the members of the Presidency. He himself cannot make any decisions on the Army. However, we cooperate very correctly with Defense Minister Kadijevic.

[Srjenc] Dubrovnik is being bombed. Where are you as the "Presidency"? Why do you not stop this with an immediate order to withdraw?

[Kostic] The Army has the strict instruction not to shoot at Dubrovnik and to protect the jewel of the old town. People who made their escape from Dubrovnik on a ferry a few days ago will confirm that this instruction is being observed.

[Srjenc] What is the Army doing in Dubrovnik since there are no Serbs who are to be protected?

[Kostic] The Army was never there, but it has barracks and a training area in the vicinity, which are very important installations. Listen, Tudjman's paramilitary formations appeared there and encircled the barracks. In Tudjman's units there are mainly paid foreign mercenaries and even professional murderers. It can also be supposed that parts of these units are in the city itself. Parts of the city might be mined, so that some things can be blown up at the right moment and this can be attributed to the Army.

[Srjenc] Why did you fail as the commissioner for the supervision of the armistice in Croatia?

[Kostic] It was impossible for me to be successful since peace does not fit into Tudjman's plan. If peace were achieved, the extreme wing of his party would immediately overthrow him. Therefore, he does not observe a single armistice, even if he has signed it. By negating me, Tudjman wanted to achieve the internationalization of the problem by my failure. He hoped that this would result in Croatia's immediate international recognition. In this way he would also get international help: weapons. He also expected the dispatch of foreign troops to Croatia. Tudjman's logic is that the more the war escalates the greater the chances of Croatia's international recognition will be, above all by the neighboring countries Austria, Hungary, Germany, and others.

[Srjenc] Why is the EC proposal to agree to six republics as independent states in a loose community of states unacceptable?

[Kostic] You see, here Serbia is at daggers drawn with the state Presidency. On account of our constitution, we as the Presidency can neither accept nor sign this form. In this way we would wipe out Yugoslavia on Europe's map.

[Srjenc] Let us suppose that Slovenia and Croatia are internationally recognized. Would Serbia then be an occupation force in a foreign country?

[Kostic] The EC has been threatening with such a recognition for a long time. This is only an element that further foments the armed conflict. Unilateral recognition by the EC and other countries, that is, without the Yugoslav peoples' agreement, would only further aggravate the war. Besides, the extension of the fighting would almost be certain.

[Srjenc] Serbia accuses Austria and Germany of interfering in internal affairs. The Fourth Reich is also mentioned.

[Kostic] All that is very obvious, it is clearly an interference in the internal affairs of the Yugoslav state, particular Foreign Minister Alois Mock's aggressive behavior, which we understand to be the result of one-sided information. If a monarchy were to be formed again as in former times, this would have to be equated with the creation of a Fourth Reich.

Army Arrests Dubrovnik Paper Correspondent

LD2910072291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Antun Masle, a Dubrovnik-based SLOBODNA DALMACIJA correspondent, was arrested in Herceg Novi yesterday. He and a group of foreign correspondents were aboard a boat to Cavtat which was diverted to Herceg Novi. He was arrested by the Yugoslav Army's military police. Nothing has been heard of him since.

Belgrade Imposes Flight Ban on Slovene Airline

AU2810192891 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] The Belgrade central authorities have imposed a flight ban on the Slovene airliner, Adria Airways. Thus Slovenia's air business has been stopped. Since the middle of September when the airspace over Slovenia and Croatia was closed, Adria Airways with its seven passenger planes operated from Klagenfurt.

The Adria Airways planes flew to various European cities from Klagenfurt Airport, often several times a day. They offered a regular service and a charter service.

Thousands of Carinthians used the low-priced Adria Airways' services. Klagenfurt Airport had extra earnings totaling millions of schillings. Now the Federal Office of Civil Aviation has said that no Adria Airways plane may be handled for the time being. The Austrian Aviation Authority continues to consider what Belgrade says applicable because a separate state of Slovenia has not been recognized yet.

There are considerations now to find a new solution together with the responsible authorities in London and Frankfurt. It is not possible to simply let the planes fly with Austria's permission because they are Yugoslav planes, and the only reason given for the withdrawal of the flight permission is that no security checks can be carried out. Austria will therefore have to make a political decision. Otherwise, the Slovene planes will probably remain in Klagenfurt for the time being because Adria Airways obviously does not consider that Belgrade will lift the ban before long. The Slovenes have already begun to clear their office at Klagenfurt Airport.

Protection Against Federal Property Usurpation

LD2810131891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1151 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 28 (TANJUG)—Assistant Yugoslav Secretary for Justice and Administration Nikola Banovic said today that in certain republics the property of the state was being usurped, taken over forcibly and even destroyed, so that the federal authorities had stepped up their efforts to protect it.

The government's Information Secretariat said an exact list of the entire property of the state of the SFRY was being drafted in order to enable proceedings to be opened with the competent republican and federal authorities, the police, judiciary and prosecutors for the damage to be assessed.

The best protection of this property, Banovic said, would be for accord to be reached on abiding by federal regulations in this field.

If this is not done, it will be extremely difficult to assess the exact damage, and it will certainly affect the entire country—the Federation and the republics, the economy and the entire population, Banovic warned.

VREME Questions Presidency's Legitimacy

LD2810153691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1336 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency, which has for the past month been convening in an incomplete composition, has, in the view of the independent Belgrade weekly VREME, become "an imitation of an organ of authority whose composition represents a Serbian autonomous region of Yugoslavia in formation."

The weekly opines that the Yugoslav Presidency was a year ago an "impotent but legal organ in which all republics were represented." The sessions of the country's Presidency have in the past month's time been attended only by its vice-president and member from Montenegro, Branko Kostic, and the representatives of Serbia and its two provinces.

The weekly lists a number of what it calls inefficient moves by the Presidency, while it was still in its full composition, including a decision it made in January this year on the disarmament of all paramilitary formations, which was opposed by the then Presidency members from Croatia (Stjepan Mesic) and Slovenia (Janez Drnovsek). The Presidency "did not address this decision at anyone directly," and this is why "an action of disarmament conceived as a voluntary act" failed, VREME writes.

The E.C. also tried to preside over the Presidency, but it soon realized that those people could not be presided over, that everyone did whatever he wanted, and that no agreement was binding, the weekly says.

The Presidency now, in the view of the weekly, is made up of a "Serbian quartet" which several days ago organized a consultative meeting with representatives of those peoples which have expressed an interest in remaining in Yugoslavia. The weekly maintains that on account of his moves in The Hague Branko Kostic no longer enjoys support in Montenegro, which he represents in the country's Presidency. The weekly notes that Kostic has left The Hague conference, while the Montenegrin parliament has instructed the delegation of Montenegro to go to The Hague and continue negotiations.

The Belgrade daily BORBA writes today that "KOSTIC's days as a leader, at least as far as Montenegro is concerned, are numbered," as the deputies have given their support to the president of the republic, Momir Bulatovic, and its prime minister, Milo Djukanovic.

The thesis that a split has developed between Bulatovic and Djukanovic on the one side, and Kostic on the other, the daily confirms by saying it had learned from "sources close to the Montenegrin state leadership" that "Branko Kostic does not dare appear before Milo Djukanovic."

Death Toll, Material Detruction, Losses of War

LD2710131791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1219 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—Over 1,000 killed people and around 20 billion dollars of material damage is the price of the war in Yugoslavia so far, as a representative of the Yugoslav Federal Government has told the annual assembly of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in Bangkok.

The statement was the first and only official statement to that effect. Precise figures are, however, difficult to

establish, because the war continues and it is uncertain when it would end. That the war is plunging Yugoslavia into a total disaster is the only sure fact.

The death toll of war conflicts in Yugoslavia is growing daily. According to figures of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia, the number of refugees is estimated at over 300,000, most of them accommodated in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia—123,860, Croatia—110,500 and Bosnia-Hercegovina—63,420. Children under 14 account for 60 percent of the overall number of refugees. Figures of refugees are increasingly difficult to collect as Slovenia and Croatia ceased to send in their reports, and Red Cross officials fear the number of refugees even higher.

The war has also affected remittances from workers abroad. In the first half of 1991, they dropped by 694 million dollars compared with the same period in 1990. Until 15 years ago, Yugoslavia was Europe's largest construction site, investing in it 40 percent of its "social product" (approximately GNP), and in the early 1980s Yugoslavia was among the world's seven greatest debtors. War devastations could only add to the current economic situation leading to economic depression.

Yugoslavia's convertible debt stood at 16.3 billion dollars in late September, according to foreign analyses. Of the total sum, Serbia accounts for over six billion dollars, Croatia for 3.8 billion, Slovenia 2.5 billion, Bosnia-Hercegovina for 2.1 billion dollars, Macedonia 970 million and Monte Negro for 680 million dollars.

The question is how Croatia and Slovenia, the two republics which decided to secede from Yugoslavia, would return nearly one half of Yugoslavia's total debt if their independence is recognized and knowing that 85 percent of the country's foreign currency reserves are deposited at the Yugoslav National Bank. Yugoslavia's gross national product will in 1991 probably drop 25 percent. In its per capita terms, Yugoslavia's GNP could at the end of 1991 be at the 1965 level.

The Yugoslavs grew poor even before the war broke out and the war has made the situation bleaker. The Yugoslav's average wage is unsufficient to cover costs of food alone. In addition, one and a half million people are unemployed and another 1.5 million receive "lowest guaranteed wages." Shop shelves are growing empty, and the hyper-inflation is getting into full swing.

Statistics reveal that the war has not yet affected foreign trade in goods and services. The nine-month figures show that exports were valued at 12.19 billion dollars, or an 8 per cent drop on the year earlier period, while imports of 12.8 billion dollars were as many as 12.2 per cent down.

In the country's current war conditions, the influx of foreign capital has almost ceased. First, the negotiations with the IMF on expected one billion dollars were frozen, then the European Community shelved off the application of the so-called third financial protocol that would supply Yugoslavia with some 1.1 billion dollars in the next five years. Also postponed were the World Bank's already granted credits of 300 million dollars this year, and so was the international community's apparent readiness to grant Yugoslavia (upon agreement with the IMF) at least two more billion dollars in fresh capital.

The country's tourist trade towards the end of last year had planned this year's earnings of around three billion dollars, or five billion dollars counting in the foreign visitors' overall spendings here. War conflicts reduced the number of expected foreign visitors by 80 per cent, so that tourist trade earnings in the first half of this year would hardly reach 400 million dollars.

In the past few years, Yugoslavia had annual gross incomes of some 2.5 billion dollars from transport services. To this sum, maritime shippers contributed around 1.1 billion dollars, airlines 711 million, road carriers 300, railways 270, PTT [post, telegraph and telephone] services 77, and inland waterway transport some 30 million dollars. But the annual net incomes from transport services amounted to some 1.2 billion dollars. It is impossible as yet for any of the transport institutions to ascertain the actual damage for this year.

Since the time war escalated from Slovenia to Croatia, transport courses have falled off to the minimum. Sea ports remain blocked, air is strictly controlled for international traffic, roads and bridges either damaged or destroyed, and some twenty sections of the Yugoslav railways are idle. The principal telephone contact between Yugoslavia and the world became disrupted when the Zagreb International Communications Centre was switched off.

Yutel To Broadcast Via Eutelsat II From Dec

LD2510205391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 25 Oct (TANJUG)—Goran Milic, Yutel [Yugoslav Television] director, told today's news conference that Yutel Television will begin broadcasting its program via satellite Eutelsat Two in December. Yutel has booked a Eutelsat Two channel for the next three years.

Denouncing rumors that "Yutel is not a solid partner", Milic emphasized that "there is no problem" because debts will be settled and the present financial balance is positive. The independent Belgrade television channel "Besst" will also start soon as an independent enterprise.

Speaking about the transition to satellite broadcasting, the Yutel director explained that the purchase of six mobile units will give television the speed of radio and "live production" which is "cheap (much cheaper than the 'polished' mounted program) but looks expensive." [passage omitted]

Slovenia

Assembly Commission Discusses Security Issues

AU2910122791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The Slovene Assembly commission for peace politics today discussed and adopted an initiative for the adoption of the law on national service, put forward by the deputies of the Christian Democratic Party and the Liberal Democratic Party. The proposal envisages allowing the right of conscientious objection to also be asserted by those who served their national service in the former Yugoslav Army. Because of a growing number of refugees from Croatia the members of the commission think that Slovenia must raise the criteria for gaining the status of a refugee, coordinate the help for refugees, and internationalize this problem.

Continuing the session, Dr. Dusan Plut, member of the Slovene Presidency, spoke about the security and political situation in Slovenia. Matjaz Albreht reports:

[Albreht] Dr. Dusan Plut said that the Republican Presidency is assessing the current situation in view of two basic conclusions. Since the disintegration of the Warsaw Pact and real socialism, the ratio of power in the world has been changed. Now, a system of collective security is being created and Slovenia wants to be included in it. Peace politics is a basic stance for resolving disputes in Yugoslavia. This is also a basic condition for cooperation at the Hague peace conference. The Presidency is not satisfied with the course of the conference, as not even a cease-fire in Croatia has been negotiated yet. Besides, the tendencies to discipline Slovenia and to incorporate it in the future Yugoslavia have been noted. Slovenia will not agree to this.

In the sphere of internal political affairs, the Presidency does not expect an imminent improvement of the poor economic situation without foreign investments and loans. All this is expected to aggravate the social problems. Talks between the Presidency and the government are currently under way to resolve the situation.

Since the July war, the security situation in Slovenia has been satisfactory. [passage omitted]

Dr. Dusan Plut assessed that the process of demilitarization has nevertheless started in Slovenia. This is confirmed by the Army's withdrawal, shortening the national service, by less resources being spent on armaments, the right of conscientious objection, and by demands of individual communes who do not wnat to have armed forces on their territories. The project on national security also wants to provide the security, independence, and territorial integrity of Slovenia by conducting the kind of international politics that would discourage all types of aggression. Disputes should be resolved peacefully and we will (?reduce) the armed forces.

The commission for peace politics has supported the aforementioned opening stances. Because of the dissatisfaction with the course of the Hague peace conference the commission will issue an appeal to all European parliaments that the EC retract the international recognition of Yugoslavia, withdraw its diplomatic representatives, and introduce economic sanctions.

Committee Prepares Draft of New Consitution

AU2910102791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] A coordinating committee for the preparation of the new constitution completed its assignment. The committee consists of experts, party leaders, leaders of the clubs of deputies, president of the Slovene Assembly, and president of the republican Constitutional Commission. Dr. France Bucar called a news conference today at which he described the course of preparations for drafting the new Slovene constitution. The coordinating commission has set itself three basic prepositions:

First, the constitution can only contain matters on which everybody agrees. Second, the constitution must be a document that will be above party interests. Third, Slovenia should get a modern constitution.

The coordinating committee resolved all major open questions. Only a few, which are of minor significance, remain. In continuing the procedure for adopting the new constitution, the experts will first edit the text and send it to be examined by the wider circle of the parties' members. When a consensus is reached, the text will be discussed by the republican Constitutional Commission. After this, the constitution will be ready for adoption by the Slovene Assembly. Dr. France Bucar believes that it will be possible to adopt the constitution by the end of this year.

Croatia

Tudjman Orders Cease-Fire For All Saints Day

LD2910140291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman welcomed and endorsed an initiative by the peace movement of mothers, the Rampart of Love [Bedem Ljubavi], to ensure a cease-fire throughout Croatia on All Saints Day. In line with our peace policy which we have been pursuing in an effort to restore peace and peaceful and dignified life for all citizens of our homeland, we will do our utmost to ensure that weapons remain silent on that day, President Tudjman stresses, going on to note that he has already given necessary instructions to our negotiators to reach an agreement on a cease-fire.

In my capacity of the armed forces supreme commander I will issue an order for an absolute cease-fire, in other words, an order to all Croatian army units on the entire

battle front to refrain from fighting on that day, Tudjaman says in his message and goes on to stress that he shares the mothers' wish for tribute to be paid to the dead on All Saints Day in peace and with dignity and with the genuine desire that that day marks the beginning of an end to hostilities and of fresh negotiations on how to resolve the Yugoslav crisis in a civilized way.

Tudjman Replies to Kadijevic on Army Withdrawal

LD2810174591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] HINA [CROATIAN NEWS AGENCY] today received from the office of the republican president, a reply to a proposed plan of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense for deblocking and relocating Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units from the Republic of Croatia. The proposal was sent to the office of the republican president at Federal Secretary Veljko Kadijevic's order by his chef de cabinet, Colonel Vuk Obradovic, on 26 October 1991. We are now broadcasting a reply to that proposal, which was sent, at President Tudjman's order, to the Federal Secretariat for National Defense:

We agree that measures should be taken to observe the cease-fire. We are proposing that the cease-fire should be linked to the separation of warring forces within range of artillery fire supervised by the international observer mission. The deblockading of YPA barracks and facilities, in accordance with the annex to the Hague agreement of 14 October 1991, was ordered by the Croatian president and was implemented by adequate orders of the main headquarters of the Croatian army. Remarks, in come instances on the local level, are being considered at meetings of a tripartite working group in Zagreb, in connection with which we are ready to remove possible misunderstandings or shortcomings on your side.

Demands from article 2 of the proposed plan to make it possible to bring means of transport, drivers, and a work force into these barracks do not accord with a memorandum of the Hague agreement signed in Zagreb on 8 October 1991, which envisages in article 3 that the YPA should withdraw from barracks by its own means of transport. The sequence of the withdrawal of the YPA units from Croatian territory should be regulated in such a way that those units which were brought into that area from the republics of Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Montenegro during 1991 should be the first to withdraw, and only after that should those that are stationed in the Republic of Croatia in peacetime barracks start withdrawing.

We are stressing that every agreement in this connection must envisage an urgent withdrawal of the YPA units into their barracks, primarily from the area of Vukovar, Dubrovnik, and Baranja. The agreement should also set out that fresh YPA forces may not be brought into the Republic of Croatia.

Lifting a blockade of the air space, ports and sea routes, post services, road and rail transport, particularly on the Zagreb-Belgrade line which has been interrupted by the occupation of Okucani by the Banjaluka YPA corps, should be carried out immediately, before the YPA units and institutions have been moved out of the Republic of Croatia; a detailed plan for this would be jointly established at meetings of a tripartite working group.

It is possible to make a plan for deblocking and relocating the YPA units and institutions from the Republic of Croatia by including principles of the abovementioned proposals. Articles 3, 6, and 4 of your proposal are at odds with these principles and standpoints contained in all agreements, in the signing of which the European Community also took part at the Hague conference. In this connection we are proposing that a plan on which we can reach an agreement should contain principles stemming from our proposal, while a detailed plan on locations, directions and terms should be agreed on by the tripartite working group.

Croatia Sends Kadijevic Message on Dubrovnik

LD2910110691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] The Croatian Government has officially informed the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and its head, General Veljko Kadijevic, that the flotilla of Dubrovnik residents will be joined in Split today by SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic, Croatian President Franjo Gregoric, and Croatian Vice President Milan Ramljak. Their intention is to visit Dubrovnik and its surroundings and hold talks with the city's legitimate authorities.

In its message the Croatian Government stresses the following: In line with your powers and with the EC declaration on Dubrovnik, you are expected to ensure safe passage for the flotilla, the exiled people of Dubrovnik's safe return to their city, the delivery of humanitarian aid, and a visit by high-ranking Croatian and foreign officials, prominent personalities, and the many people ready to help Dubrovnik.

We want to urgently stress the need to lift the Dubrovnik blockade and to observe the cease-fire order issued on 18 October by all eight members of the Federal Presidency and in line with the EC Dubrovnik declaration and its members.

The official message to General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for defense, was signed by Croatian Vice President Mate Granic; Lord Carrington, chairman of the peace conference on Yugoslavia; Hans van den Broek, chairman of the EC Council of Ministers; and Dutch Ambassador van Houten.

Army-Croatian Peace Talks Resume in Zagreb

LD2810185191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Negotiations between representatives of the main headquarters of the Croatian army and the Yugoslav Army resumed in Zagreb today. Negotiations were also attended by Croatian Health Minister Andrija Hebrang and member of the government Drazen Budisa. Budisa told journalists that they were here to help negotiations on a convoy which set off toward Dubrovnik and to agree on sending humanitarian aid to Vukovar, which was proposed by the French. The Vukovar convoy should be made up of boats sailing from Hungary by the river Danube.

Before the meeting Lieutenant Colonel General Andrija Raseta told journalists that the army is ready to withdraw its formations from peacetime garrisons as soon as the blockade has been lifted. This includes formations from the barracks in Pleso and in Jatrebarsko. When asked what will happen with units brought to Croatia from other republics which occupied Croatia, Raseta said that this is not the issue of the Hague negotiations. Raseta stated that equipment and vehicles in the Borongaj barracks were not destroyed on purpose. It was done during attacks on Borongaj. Radio equipment in the barracks in Siljakovina, he said, were destroyed by soldiers and officers who deserted to the Croatian National Guard Corps.

Having noted that President Tudjman replied to a proposed plan of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense regarding the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from Croatia, Colonel Imra Agotic said that Croatia is not giving up its standpoints. We still demand that all forces that occupied Croatia first withdraw, and only after that should formations of peacetime garrisons start withdrawing.

'One Measure of Progress' Achieved

LD2910155191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] A little before 1400 GMT negotiations between Yugoslav Army representative, Lieutenant Colonel General Andrija Raseta, and Colonel Imro Agotic, member of the main headquarters of the Croatian Army, ended in the Hotel Intercontinental in Zagreb. Only one measure of progress was achieved in their talks on the separation of the warring sides, Gen. Raseta stated.

As regards the Dubrovnik convoy, the so-called Yugoslav Army will allow it to pass, but only after a thorough search of boats and persons aboard. A humanitarian aid convoy cannot be sent to Vukovar at the moment, because, as Raseta said, of war activities in that area.

Contrary to this, Col. Agotic believes that, precisely for that reason, in order to help wounded people in Vukovar, a convoy for Vukovar should set off immediately.

On negotiations on the separation of forces, Col. Agotic stressed that the Croatian side offered a really acceptable plan for the separation of forces within range of artillery weapons, and that he hoped Gen. Raseta would accept it in the end. Their talks in the Hotel Intercontinental resume tomorrow.

Foreign Journalists Arrive in Dubrovnik

LD2810150491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] The most important event since the isolation of Dubrovnik on 1 October is today's arrival of a large group of journalists, among them 15 foreign reporters. The group arrived by ship from Cavtat, where they spent yesterday, and our reporter with the group says that they are witness to the fact that there is not a single house from the Montenegrin border to Cavtat that did not bear the marks of enemy attack.

Dubrovnik was quiet this morning but enemy troops have moved closer to the old city, even hoisting the Yugoslav flag over the luxury Hotel Belvedere. Cease-fire talks continued today under EC supervision.

Dubrovnik Protests Army Cease-Fire Violations

LD2810193491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Correspondent Josko Jelavic report from Dubrovnik]

[Text] Negotiations between representatives of the Dubrovnik municipal assembly and the municipality's defense command on one side and representatives of the federal army on the other in the presence of the EC observer mission as mediators resumed in Cavtat at 1500 this afternoon. As journalists were told, the meeting was very brief because of pressing commitments.

The Dubrovnik side vehemently protested at the violations of the cease-fire agreement by the army of occupation and especially at the deployment of Army units on the Zarkovica hill above the city. This, the representatives of Dubrovnik warned, contravenes the line proposed by the Army itself, and especially in relation to the positions the Army occupied on the day of the cease-fire at 1700 on 25 October. The federal Army was asked to leave Zarkovica and move back to its positions it occupied at the time the cease-fire was agreed.

Reference was also made to the prisoner issue. However, the representatives of the federal Army will give their response to the question whether and when the Army will withdraw to its previous positions—a question of crucial importance for the residents of Dubrovnik—at a meeting to be held in occupied Cavtat at 1100 on Wednesday.

The meeting was postponed until Wednesday because Dubrovnik is expected to be visited tomorrow by several foreign diplomats. Mr. Mario Bondioli, head of the

Split-based regional center of the EC observer mission, arrived in Dubrovnik today. He is reported to have held talks in Meljine today with Lieutenant Colonel General Pavle Strugar, representative of the Boka Naval Sector. Immediately upon his arrival in Dubrovnik Mr. Bondioli met Mayor Pero Poljanic, who informed him about the situation in Dubrovnik since the beginning of war operations on 1 October and in particular about the constant cease-fire violations by the army of occupation. During these talks Mr. Bondioli noted that General Strugar did not mention any cease-fire violations.

Dubrovnik Talks To Focus on 11-Point Army Plan

LD2910022891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2240 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Trebinje, October 28 (TANJUG)—Talks on the normalization of life in Dubrovnik, which opened on Monday between representatives of the Yugoslav Army and the city authorities, with the E.C. monitors mediating, will be resumed in the nearby town of Cavtat on Wednesday.

TANJUG has learned that the main topic of the talks will be the 11-point proposal of the Yugoslav Army. The Army's proposal, among other things, envisages the withdrawal of all para-military formations from Dubrovnik, handing over of their arms, and the return of those members of the force which policed the city at the beginning of this year.

In a talk with Army representative Lt. Gen. Pavle Strugar, head of the E.C. monitoring mission Mario Brandioli on Monday assessed that the Army proposal was not an ultimatum but a sound basis for the continuation of the talks, as TANJUG learned from military circles.

UNESCO Prepares Mission To Visit Dubrovnik

LD2910080691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1459 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 28 (TANJUG)—Personal envoy of general director of UNESCO Daniel Janicot today arrived in Belgrade to prepare the arrival of a mission which should visit Dubrovnik and ascertain whether the city has been damaged during the fighting which took place around it over the past few days. Janicot arrived at the invitation of the Yugoslav Government and at the initiative of the Yugoslav State Presidency.

UNESCO in 1979 included the medieval Croatian city of Dubrovnik in the world cultural heritage. The Croatian authorities had claimed, over the past few days when fighting was underway in the wider area around Dubrovnik, that the Army was bombing and attacking the city. Representatives of the Yugoslav Army on several occasions denied these claims. They cited that the Army had strict orders not to attack Dubrovnik. The arrival of a UNESCO mission, which should ascertain the acutal state of Dubrovnik, is expected to arrive in the latter half of November.

New peace initiatives are expected today on the Hercegovina-Dubrovnik front. The eleven-point proposal of the Yugoslav People's Army for the normalization of relations in Dubrovnik has partially failed since the authorities in Dubrovnik forwarded it to Zagreb proclaiming themselves unauthorized, as they put it, to make such an important decision. The reply from Zagreb is expected to arrive today. The Army proposal among other things demands that members of the Croatian paramilitary formations, which are situated in the center of the ancient part of Dubrovnik, surrender their arms.

The units of the Yugoslav People's Army the day before yesteday fixed their positions at two to three kilometers from Dubrovnik and have no intention, as officers set out, to enter the city itself but at the same time do not intend to withdraw until the illegal Croatian armed formations surrender their arms and leave the city.

Knin Corps Protests Attacks, Demands Blockade Lift

LD2910063991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0310 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, October 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army's Knin corps command today forwarded, through the EC monitor mission, a sharp protest to the Republic of Croatia's authorities against breaks of the agreed-on armistice and fire opened at the Knin corps units. In the matter of only past two days, Croatian armed forces launched several attacks in succession on the Knin corps positions, killing one and wounding six Yugoslav People's Army troops.

The Croatian authorities were demanded to unconditionally raise the blockade of Zrnovnica, a military facility, and of Kozjak, a transmitter, the Knin corps information service made it known. The Knin corps command also asked that all military and their families as well as civilians in the Yugoslav Army service be secured to enjoy the freedom of movement in the seaports of Split and Sibenik. The Croatian authorities were asked, too, to provide for joint visits to prisons in the presence of European observers.

A continuation of talks between representatives for the Knin corps command and Croatian authorities, scheduled for Wednesday, depends on whether by 12:00 hrs local time tomorrow to be found unblocked are the military facilities of Zrnovnica and Kozjak, and the rest of other conditions fulfilled, the Knin corps information service pointed out in the announcement.

Army Claims Foreigners Engaged in Croatian Militia

LD2810122391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1130 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 28 (TANJUG)—The weekly NARODNA ARMIJA of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) reports in its latest issue that foreign citizens, including a large number of criminals, are engaged in the Croatian paramilitary organizations, especially in the National Guard corps.

Quoting figures of the Federal Interior Ministry, NARODNA ARMIJA reports that there are Germans, Dutchmen, Romanians, Scotsmen, Hungarians and even Filipinos and other foreign citizens from outside Europe among the national guardsmen. Thus, for instance, NARODNA ARMIJA lists the names of 20 German military experts who were engaged at the testing range in Novi Cakovci, northern Croatia, in July. The weekly also reports about 20 Canadian citizens originating from Ustasha families.

Some travel agencies, Atlas and MMPAS, for instance, have become specialized in bringing mercenaries to Croatia, NARODNA ARMIJA claims.

Foreign students from Arab, African and Asian countries are also recruited for the guard. The weekly writes that the Croatian authorities have been pressuring these people in recent months to join paramilitary formations for a reward of Croatian citrizenship and a salary of 1,000 German marks.

NARODNA ARMIJA further reports that a group of 34 Philippine citizens were discovered in Belgrade recently. The Filipinos, mostly young women, had come to Yugoslavia through the Atlas travel agency of Dubrovnik and were planning to proceed to Zagreb. Another group of Filipinos was discovered in Sarajevo. They were also intending to go to Croatia.

The weekly also reports that a group of young men came to the Yugoslav Embassy in Beirut recently to inquire about going to Yugoslavia to fight in one of the police forces there. They said they were answering an announcement published in a private paper.

"It is evident that many world criminals and adventurers have set themselves up in the Croatian paramilitary formations, and the many attrocities in this dirty war should therefore not be surprising," NARODNA ARMIJA concludes.

Daily Views 'Ultranationalistic Turnaround'

LD2810121891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1143 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, Oct 28 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb daily VJESNIK today writes that "the Croatian negotiation strategy is being criticized more and more frequently", and describes the criticisms as a deliberate attempt to effect an ultra-nationalistic turn-about in the republic.

"The price Croatia is paying is certainly exorbitant. There is no part (of Croatia) that is not at war, one way or another. It is precisely for this reason that every form of political bickering about the enormity of the sacrifice is becoming politically harmful and even ethically in bad taste," the daily writes.

VJESNIK goes on to say that the views present in the public "that Croatia should discontinue the talks, because it is coming out of them cheated by Europe" through the naivete of President Franjo Tudjman who is "protecting himself and Zagreb at the expence of Vukovar and Dubrovnik" while Serbia and Europe are keeping their eyes skinned to see how they can carve it up, and that this is why it is "necessary to take up arms and go forth into total war, because the patience of the people is running out...", can only serve the purpose of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "as the straw at which to clutch for salvation."

When, however, even war is being used in the dirty game of putting these views into practice, "and there are instances in the media of deliberately fanning war fears..." Then this is no longer politicizing in poor taste, but an attempt to deliberately make use of the sentiments of the public to force a rightist ultra-nationalistic turn-about in Croatia, VJESNIK writes.

Whatever it may sound like, it is necessary to say that "false patriotism is the most common foundation for dictatorship," the daily VJESNIK writes in conclusion.

Confederation Movement Head Examines Civil War

AU2810095591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Oct 91 p 2

[Interview with Peter Vucic, chairman of the Confederation Movement, by Rokus Kalapis; place and date not given: "Serbs in Croatia Do Not Deserve Territorial Autonomy—Confederation, But With Whom?"]

[Text] Croatia is also preparing to introduce its own currency, we learned from Peter Vucic, who is an interesting interviewee on several accounts: as chairman of the Confederation Movement who was a co-author of the confederation agreement proposed by the Croatians and Slovenians and aimed at solving the crisis relatively painlessly, and as deputy director of the Croatian Public Auditing Service, who can also provide some details on the essence of the Croatian-Serbian financial and economic war.

[Kalapis] Mr. Vucic! At this time last year, the Confederation Movement was striving for a confederation of southern Slav states, that is, your movement considered the modification of Yugoslavia's state structure to be the best solution. Obviously, a lot of things have changed since then....

[Vucic] It depends on how we look at it. The Confederation Movement continues to strive for the creation of a confederation, but this time, our goal is to connect Croatia with the European Community, rather than to create a community of southern Slav states. The current events in Croatia made our contacts with the former Yugoslavia republics totally superfluous.

[Kalapis] However, the European Community demands a loose community of these republics. In your opinion, what is the maximum that Croatia regards as acceptable?

[Vucic] I think that, in addition to all goodwill, the best thing we could accept would be the creation of certain coordination bodies that would assist in the peaceful dissolution of the former federal state in the coming five years, would contribute to the just distribution of federal property, and would settle ownership issues and national minority status. A need for a population exchange might occur, for example between Serbia and Croatia, exclusively on a voluntary basis, because it is more than certain that some 50 percent of the Serbs living in Croatia, who are now striving to destroy Croatia, will desire to settle in Serbia. At the same time, one can imagine that the Croatians in Vojvodina will no longer want to live in a foreign land in the near vicinity of their own state.

[Kalapis] And this leads us to the most problematic political issue: Croatian-Serbian relations. Is coexistence possible after the terrible massacres and destruction? Is a Serbian territorial autonomy possible in Croatia?

[Vucic] Of course, I think coexistence is possible, all the more so because this does not cause any particular problem now in many areas of the republic, like in Zagreb. Naturally, this does not apply to those who committed or are now committing war crimes. These people will have to answer for their deeds, which, as we know, will not become out of date. We will guarantee the rights of the Serbian national minority even under international supervision if necessary. However, it is clear that the Serbs will also have to admit for once that they are a national minority in Croatia and they cannot force their interests and will upon the majority nation here. At the same time, I must say that there can be no territorial autonomy here because this would again cause a serious Croatian-Serbian conflict. However, I think cultural autonomy is acceptable and I do not see anything objectionable in this.

[Kalapis] In addition to a classic war, Serbia is also waging an economic-financial war against Croatia. What is the situation in this economic war?

[Vucic] More than satisfactory. As you know, everything started when Slovenia and Croatia were simply left out of this country's financial system, with the hope that this would soon break their economies and financial institutions. Fortunately, we took countermeasures in time and, on the one hand, we succeeded in guaranteeing an undisturbed supply of funds to our citizens and our economy by relying on the available funds. On the other hand, we succeeded in avoiding the destructive effects of Belgrade's large release of uncovered funds precisely because of our isolation. Thus, for example, we continue to regularly supervise our amount of available cash in order to halt a possible exaggerated increase in cash over time. The introduction of Croatian dinars will take place in a matter of days, and this will function as a temporary currency until our future real currency, the Croatian crown, gets enough cover. It is useless to introduce any currency without proper cover, and our Western friends assured us that that they would help us out if the crown does not have enough cover. In short, we are in no hurry. However, we must first win this war, because what is the use of national currency if we have no country for it?

Serbia

Foreign Minister Previews Upcoming Hungary Visit

LD2710053191 Budapest MTI in English 2028 GMT 26 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 26 (MTI)—As reported earlier, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic is to arrive in Budapest on an official visit on Sunday. Concerning the purpose of his visit, Jovanovic told MTI that a number of negative phenomena had accumulated in bilateral relations.

"In the course of our talks, we will probably find the ways of surmounting the difficulties and creating the possibility of better cooperation. This is the purpose of my visit. I will go to Budapest with the clear intention of improving bilateral relations and thus contributing to stability and cooperation in Europe," Jovanovic said. The Serbian foreign minister pointed out that the two countries would always remain neighbours and have to find the ways of reaping benefits from neighbourhood and co-ordinating their views and interests.

In reply to the question why he said recently that he would welcome if Hungary's Serbian minority would be treated as well as Yugoslavia's Hungarian minority is, Jovanovic said:

"Hungary's Serbian community is much smaller. They are in want of many things, of which the Hungarian authorities are also aware. [Words indistinct] improvements since the new government came to power, the ethnic Hungarian community of Yugoslavia is still in a much better situation. I mentioned the Serbian minority since the Hungarian authorities are dissatisfied with the situation of Yugoslavia's Hungarian minority and several core unfounded and unjustified. There is not any country which would treat the Hungarian minority so unselfish does. [sentence as received] Of the Hungarian minorities living in the region, the Hungarian community of Yugoslavia is in the best Jovanovic said. [sentence as received]

The Serbian foreign minister said the Yugoslav citizens who had fled to Hungary could return to Yugoslavia and get back their property and job.

"Of course, we will welcome them, and they will [words indistinct] property. Employment is another matter, I am unfamiliar with the details but there can be no doubt about. [sentence as received]

Asked about Belgrade's accusations of Hungarian arms deliveries, Jovanovic said the federal authorities [had] incontestable proofs, which would be presented to the Hungarian authorities. Jovanovic said these [words indistinct] directly between the federal authorities and the Hungarian side.

Opposition Urges Denunciation of YPA Dubrovnik Siege

LD2810171291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Oct (TANJUG)—The Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO] has demanded that Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, and the Montenegro Presidency raise their voice and dissociate themselves from what is happening to Dubrovnik.

All the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] activities, including those in the area along the Hercegovina and Dubrovnik frontline are directly or indirectly being attributed by the international public to Serbia and Montenegro, something that may have unforeseeable consequences, the SPO Presidency warns in its communique sent to TANJUG today.

Every sensible person is aware that neither Serbia nor Montenegro has any reason whatsoever to conquer Dubrovnik. It is particularly not in the interest and spirit of the Serbian people to subject the tens of thousands of citizens of this town to hunger under a classical state of siege, the communique notes.

This is why we are demanding that the Serbian president and the Montenegro Presidency pronounce their stance publically on these events and dissociate themselves, in the name of Serbian honor, from such YPA activities and General Kadijevic, the SPO Presidency's statement says in conclusion.

Youth Group Demands Students Return From Front

LD2810152991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1313 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 28 (TANJUG)—The youth organization of the Democratic Party of Serbia today informed the public that it has asked the Federal Secretariat for National Defence that "all mobilized students, assistants and professors immediately be brought back from the front and that they are no longer mobilized."

A statement by the second-largest opposition party in Serbian parliament also underscores the demand that "the Defence Ministry immediately announce lists of dead and wounded students, assistants and professors." It was also asked that the universities of Serbia and the student alliances of these universities, in cooperation with the defence ministry, "immediately announce the lists of all who have been mobilized" from these universities.

The statement further asks that students from the threatened Serbian regions of Croatia, the so-called Serbian autonomous regions of Krajina, who are enrolled at universities in Serbia "not be privileged or protected from molibilization with respect to the local students," noting that "they have already avoided mobilization which was proclaimed by their governments."

Charges Filed Against Sandzak Referendum Organizers

AU2910160391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Because of the justified suspicion that they committed the criminal act of unconstitutional and unlawful alteration of borders between the republics, according to Article 116, paragraph 2 of the Criminal Law of Yugoslavia, the Center for Security of Bijelo Polje filed criminal charges with a higher court in this town against five local leaders of the Party of Democratic Action. They were the organizers of the referendum on the political and territorial autonomy of Sandzak in this commune.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

European Mission Visits Bihac Airport

AU2910094791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 29 Oct 91

[Text] Members of the European observers mission visited the military airport at Bihac late last night. Through talks with representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, they were interested in establishing the dividing line between the warring sides in the Korenica area and the possibility of lifting the blockade on the roads.

TANJUG reports that during the mission's visit, two loud explosions could be heard near the railroad station in Cazin. A part of the track was damaged, as well as some nearby houses. There were no deaths and an investigation is under way.

Loud automatic gunfire could be heard last night from the direction of the village of Vaganac about 10 kilometers northwest of the Bihac military airport.

Macedonia

Turkish Delegation Meets With Gligorov, Others

TA2910084291 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2100 GMT 28 Oct 91

[Text] A Turkish delegation, headed by Ambassador Bilal Simsir, is visiting some of the Yugoslav republics. The delegation ended its contacts in Bosnia-Hercegovina and went to the Macedonian Republic.

ANATOLIA reports that the Turkish delegation was received by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov today. The delegation members met separately with Deputy Prime Minister Blaze Ristovski and the foreign minister as well. The delegation members also met with the leaders of the Macedonian Turkish Democratic Union in Skopje and visited the UNION newspaper published by the Turkish minority.

The Turkish delegation will visit the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce and the representatives of the Albanian minority tomorrow.

Largest Party in Assembly Joins Opposition

LD2510173591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1501 GMT 23 Oct 91

[Text] Skopje, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The largest party in the Macedonian Assembly, the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization]-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE] is going into parliamentary opposition. A statement to this effect was made at a news conference in Skopje today. It is obvious that to so-called left-wing bloc is holding power in the republic with the help of the voting mechanism, Dosta Dimovska, vice president of the party, stated.

This bloc, it was said, controls the work of the assembly in which the VMRO-DPMNE has become a secondary political factor. The VMRO-DPMNE Executive Committee has therefore decided that it can function only as a constructive opposition.

At today's news conference the recent resignation of Ljopco Georgievski, leader of the VMRO-DPMNE, from the post of vice president of the republic was endorsed. The Executive Committee members refused to comment on the resignation since Georgievski himself has called for an assembly session to explain the reasons for his resignation.

Dragi Arsov, another member of the VRMO-DPMNE, has also hinted his intention to resign the post of vice president of the Macedonian Assembly. In a statement the party explains that the revival of neo-communism, the lack of safeguards for the new Macedonian state, and the low standard of living of the republic's citizens are the main motives behind the resignations, and the VMRO-DPMNE decision to go into opposition.

Macedonia Muslims Criticize Bosnia Party's Founding

AU2810131491 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 27 Oct 91

[Text] The republican Association for Cultural-Scientific Manifestations by Macedonian Muslims reacted today to yesterday's founding meeting of the Party of Democratic Action of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Macedonia. In a public statement, the Association of Macedonian Muslims judged this party's establishment in Macedonia to be inappropriate and interference in internal affairs by Muslims fundamentalists in Bosnia-Hercegovina, who have the aim of unifying all Muslims in Yugoslavia on the basis of [word indistinct].

The Association of Macedonian Muslims condemned the statement by Mr. Irfan Ajanovic, general secretary of the Party of Democratic Action, that Muslims in the ethnic sense have lived in Macedonia for centuries, and claimed that Macedonians of the Muslim faith live in Macedonia: Turks, Albanians, Romanies, Egyptians, and Vlahs with the Muslim religion.

Majority of Army Officers in Republic Macedonian

LD2510162891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1248 GMT 25 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) weekly NARODNA ARMIJA writes in its latest issue that among JNA officers in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, 67 percent are Macedonians, and that Macedonians make up 90 percent of the total number of civilians employed in the JNA. In stating these facts the weekly warns that the mass media in Macedonia are openly calling the JNA "enemy" and its officers "Serbian officers."

The commentary points out that "some of the newly-elected Macedonian officials immediately on taking office started an anti-JNA campaign." NARODNA ARMIJA writes that foremost among them are Vice-President of the Republic of Macedonia Ljupco Georgievski, Macedonian Premier Nikola Kljusev and one of the three vice-premiers Blaze Ristovski.